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ABSTRACT

This collection of six papers consists of works in progress undertaken by students and faculty of the University of Pennsylvania's Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education. The papers are: (1) "Language Planning and Identity Planning: An Emergent Understanding" (Rebecca Freeman); (2) "Communicative Functions of Speech in a Monolingual Kindergarten" (Mary Jean Tecce deCarlo); (3) "Acquisition Planning, Ethnic Discourse, and the Ecuadorian Nation-State" (Kendall King); (4) "'Yes I Think It's You': A Discussion of Intercultural Communication" (Kristen Loheyde and Nancy Kunz); (5) "Targeting Morpho-Syntax in Children's ESL: An Empirical Study of the Use of Interactive Goal-Based Tasks" (Allison Mackey); and (6) "Ethnic Pride and the Classroom: An Ethnographic Study of Classroom Behavior-Norms and Themes" (Kate Menken). Each paper is followed by a reference list. (MDM)

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From the Editors:

The purpose of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)* is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers in *WPEL* are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania.

It is our intention that *WPEL* will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. *WPEL* is sent to nearly one hundred universities world-wide.

We hope that you will find this issue both useful and stimulating.

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Language planning and identity planning: An emergent understanding

Rebecca Freeman

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This paper demonstrates how an ethnographic approach provides a principled means of studying the way in which one successful two-way Spanish-English bilingual elementary school has organized itself so that its language minority students can participate and achieve in school. First, I describe the ethnographic approach that enabled me to understand the schools perspective on their program, which sees discrimination as the problem for language minority students in mainstream U.S. schools and society, and their program as the solution to that problem. Then, I summarize the local theory of identity planning that emerged from my analysis.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how an ethnographic approach provides a principled means of studying the way in which one successful two-way Spanish-English bilingual public elementary (pre-K-6) school program functions in its particular sociopolitical context. Oyster Bilingual School was selected as the research site because it is considered successful with its linguistically and culturally diverse student population by a variety of measures including standardized test scores and on-going performance-based assessment. It is also considered a model bilingual program by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA). Given inconclusive findings with respect to bilingual education's effectiveness in providing equal education opportunities to 'Limited English Proficient' ('LEP') students (Fasold, 1984; Weinstein, 1987), the related problem of speakers of nonstandard varieties of English being blocked from equal participation opportunities in mainstream classrooms (e.g., Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Heath, 1983; Philips, 1983), and the increasing problem of minority students' poor academic achievement in U.S. schools (Cummins, 1989), there is an urgent need to understand how successful schools organize themselves so that their diverse student populations can participate and achieve in school.

A primary goal of my ethnographic study was to develop an insider's understanding of how the Oyster bilingual program was implemented so that its language minority students were achieving. In terms first introduced by Pike ([1954], cited in Pelto & Pelto, 1987), I attempted to gain an *emic* understanding of the cultural knowledge that participants have and how they use that knowledge in their interactions at school.

However, since I began my ethnographic study of the Oyster bilingual program as an outsider, my preliminary definitions and categorizations of meaning world be considered *etic*, i.e. based on concepts, frameworks, and categories used in social science research (Pike [1954], cited in Pelto & Pelto, 1987). In order for my description of Oyster's success with its linguistically and culturally diverse student population to be applied to further social science theory refinement and development, I present an *etic* discussion of the local theory of identity planning that emerged from my *emic* analysis. According to Hymes, "these three moments (the etic-1, emic, and etic-2 of Pike, 1954) are fundamental to linguistics and anthropology" (1990:421).

Understanding Oyster's Success: An Ethnographic Approach

Although the presentation of how I obtained an understanding of Oyster's official policy, classroom level implementation, individual perspectives on the program's success, and the relevant context is necessarily linear, the cyclical nature of data collection and analysis involved in the ethnographic inquiry process needs to be emphasized. Each new piece of data contributes to an understanding of all of the data and continually encourages the researcher to reconsider or refine previous interpretations. Discrepancies in interpretations (for example between ideal policy statements and the researcher's observations of actual practices or, for example, between Oyster participants' representations of the same event they had witnessed) suggest directions for further research. Coherence in interpretations in a variety of data (for example by numerous teachers, administrators, policy makers, and parents who see Oyster as an alternative to mainstream U.S. educational and societal discrimination against language minority students) contribute to the validity of that interpretation and help to rule out rival interpretations. The cyclical nature of data collection and analysis that organized my inquiry process, as well as the dynamic nature of language planning and implementation at Oyster Bilingual School is then illustrated in the diagram presented at the end of this section.

The goal of my study was to describe Oyster's two-way bilingual education language plan and classroom level implementation in order to understand how it enabled its LEP students in particular, and language minority students in general to participate and achieve. The following description of the Oyster Bilingual Program states:

> Oyster's Bilingual Program has been in operation since 1971. It is considered unique in the city and the country. The teaming of English-dominant and Spanish-dominant teachers provides language models for students in both their first and second languages.
>
> Students hear and respond to both languages throughout the day. A final average of instruction is approximately half and half for each language, each

> day. Students read in both languages every day. Mathematics and content area groups are developed by the teaching teams. Often key vocabulary may be introduced in both languages.
>
> The end result of instruction at Oyster is the development of students who are biliterate and bicultural and who have learned all subject areas in both languages (*1988 Teachers' Handbook*: 1).

Interviews with policy makers, administrators, and teachers supplemented my understanding of Oyster's official bilingual education language policy. The official policy emphasizes equal distribution and evaluation of Spanish and English throughout the students' educational experience at Oyster so that the students become bilingual and biliterate in Spanish and English. To accomplish these goals, there are two teachers in each classroom: one is Spanish dominant who ideally speaks and is spoken to only in Spanish, and the other teacher is English dominant who ideally speaks and is spoken to only in English. These team-teachers are responsible for dividing up the content area instruction so that all students receive instruction in language arts in Spanish and in English every day, and that approximately 50% of their instruction per day, week, and year in the rest of the content areas is in Spanish and 50% in English.

Since teachers have a great deal of autonomy in how they implement any educational plan, it is important to look beyond the official policy to actual classroom implementation. To understand how the plan is implemented on the classroom level, I worked as a participant observer for the first year of my study in the sixth-grade class. Sixth grade is the students' last year at Oyster, and provided an excellent opportunity to investigate the immediate outcomes of the program. Volunteering my services as an ESL and writing tutor allowed me to work with all of the students in the class and both of the teachers in a variety of ways. For example, I worked with each student individually on compositions (Spanish and English) on a regular basis, which provided one means of assessing their written and spoken proficiency in both languages as well as their academic achievement. Since the class was regularly organized into small groups who would work together on an activity or project, I had the opportunity to observe how the students negotiated with each other through Spanish and English to solve problems. When the teachers identified students who had problems with particular skills, I would work with the students either individually or in small groups, which enabled me to understand the teacher's assessment of students who needed extra attention and why.

When I wasn't working with the students or teachers, I observed, taped, and transcribed the classroom discourse. Consistent with ethnography of communication research (Hymes, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1989). I organized my observations and analyses of speech events within the classroom interaction using Hymes' **SPEAKING** heuristic

(1974). By directing attention to details of the classroom cultural communication system, an ethnography of communication approach forces the researcher to "to make the familiar strange, to notice that which is taken for granted either by the researcher or the participants, to assume that that which seems commonplace is nonetheless extraordinary, and to question why it exists or takes place as its does, or why something else does not" (Erickson [1973], cited in Wilcox, 1982: 258).

Limiting my observations to the sixth grade as representative of the school, however, would not have been valid. I therefore spent one semester as a participant-observer in one of the kindergarten classes, which gave me the opportunity to study an early period in the students' educational experience. As in the sixth grade described above, I worked and talked with all of the students and both of the teachers in a variety of ways. I observed, taped, transcribed and analyzed the classroom interaction using an ethnography of communication approach. My experience as a participant observer in the sixth-grade class and in one of the kindergarten classes enabled me to make explicit the underlying norms of interaction and interpretation that structure the curriculum content and classroom interaction (Freeman, forthcoming). To determine if the patterns I had observed in these classes were representative of those throughout the school, I also observed, taped, transcribed and analyzed Pre-K, 1st, 3rd, and 5th-grade classes. As is to be expected, there was considerable surface variation across classes in the particulars of how the two-way bilingual education language plan was implemented. However, as I describe below, the underlying assumptions and expectations about minority language use and participation rights were consistent throughout the school.

To counter criticism about the authority of the ethnographer in representing a culture, as well as about the possibility of there being one objective truth to represent, many contemporary anthropologists suggest including the voices of the various participants in an effort to represent their interpretation of the culture (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Clifford, 1988). In order to understand how the Oyster program is viewed and constructed by its participants, I interviewed policy makers, administrators, teachers, and students in a variety of ways throughout my two-year study. The interview technique that I adopted for my preliminary interviews combined qualities of life-history and of focused interviews, and could be characterized more as conversations than as standard interviews.[1] Although I would enter each interview situation with questions I wanted to have answered (e.g., Why did you get involved in a bilingual program? What is your philosophy of teaching? In your opinion, what makes this program successful?), I wouldn't necessarily follow the questions in any set order because the answers that the interviewee provided continually informed the evolving conversation. By the end of the interview/conversation, I would find that most, if not all, of my questions had been explored. In addition, because I would try to follow topics that the interviewee raised, I inevitably collected data that I wouldn't have thought to ask about, and which often turned out to be the most instructive.

It is important to emphasize the need for researchers to not only include the participants' voices, but also to listen carefully to what those voices have to say about what is going on in their cultural context and why. From my experience, it can be very difficult to move from the etic-1 to emic level of analysis because of the naturalizing effect of ideology. That is, ideology functions to make us see things as natural, common-sense, true, or simply the way things are.[2] In my case, prior to doing research in the Oyster Bilingual School, I had conducted research in two transitional bilingual programs, and had supervised English as a Second Language (ESL) student teachers in a variety of public school programs. Implicit in these programs, as well as in the Bilingual Education Act that supports them, is the notion that limited English proficiency is the problem for students defined as LEP. ESL instruction, and if possible instruction in the native language until the student has acquired enough English to participate in the all-English content area classes, is the solution to this language problem. Because of my experience seeing limited English proficiency as the problem and ESL/native language instruction as the solution, I initially focused my observations and questions on the distribution and evaluation of Spanish and English throughout the school. One day a teacher told me, "you know, it's much **more** than language." To understand this teacher's simple statement, I was forced to look more critically at the Oyster bilingual program. Reviewing my data in an effort to understand what "**more** than language" was involved, ultimately led to my emergent understanding of the underlying identity plan that I argue explains the program's success.

In addition to the open-ended interviews described above, follow-up interviews/conversations were conducted; these included questions similar to those described by Mishler as characteristic of 'focused interviews' (Merton, Fiske, & Kendall, cited in Mishler, 1986). For example, I would regularly ask a variety of individuals (individually and/or in groups) who had all participated in or witnessed the same event to tell me what had happened. In this way I could compare multiple representations and evaluations of the same event. Including various participants' interpretations provides layers of meaning that the researcher alone could not provide. In Geertz's terms, exploring "webs of interrelationships" among these layers of meaning helps the ethnographer provide a "thick description" of the culture under study (1973).

With respect to my role in the interview process, I assumed that I was an active participant, jointly constructing meaning with the interviewee. I did not pretend to be a neutral interviewer who was simply collecting information. Rather, in talking with teachers and administrators about the Oyster program, I would make my personal background and interest as a teacher explicit. In talking with students, I would explain that I was also a student, and that I wanted to learn about their bilingual program. In all of the interviews, I attempted to position myself as a learner, and all of my interviewees seemed to take on the role of my teachers.

The Oyster Perspective

The following excerpts from some of the interviews illustrate a very different construction of the problem for LEP students in U.S. public schools than I had originally assumed. From the Oyster perspective, the problem for language minority students in general (including LEP students, speakers of languages other than English, and speakers of varieties other than standard English) is mainstream U.S. educational and societal discrimination against minority languages and minority peoples. It is important to emphasize that Oyster locates the problem not in the student, but in mainstream U.S. educational and societal discourse. This very different construction of the problem requires a very different solution. Oyster has therefore organized itself to provide an alternative educational discourse in which minority languages and students are, ideally, not discriminated against.

For example, one of the co-founders of the Oyster Bilingual Program, Señor Estevez related his understanding of "the big problem in the United States":

> the big problem in the United States...years back...that is not related to bilingual education...it is related to the acquisition of any other language than English...I just want to tell you two things...first of all...a problem of immigrants...they have to find the identification of being an American in the dominance of a language and your allegiance...your patriotism...years back...not well founded...was the sooner that I forget the old country...the more American I am

In this account, Señor Estevez makes explicit his assumption that immigrants feel obligated to abandon their native language and culture in order to achieve in the United States and his negative evaluation of this assumption.

Administrators and teachers provided numerous personal experience stories that were consistent with Señor Estevez's definition of "the big problem." For example, Señora Ortega, the principal of the school during the first year of my study, provided the following account of her experience as a native Spanish-speaking Mexican-American child educated in a monolingual English public school in the southwest United States:

> as a child...and I'm talking about personal experience...one of the problems I had was that I never felt good about my race because it was never talked about...my name...I was so embarrassed...I remember...because no one could say /eléna/...I was always called /ilína/../él∂na/...or /él∂n/...and I

> always felt like they all knew that the teacher was pronouncing it wrong...so I was so embarrassed all the time...I hated my name for years...and it wasn't until I grew older that I started saying...well there's nothing wrong...and I actually started going back to my culture

The sixth-grade Spanish dominant teacher, Señor Xoci, is also a Mexican American who was educated in monolingual English schools in the southwest. He provided the following account of his experience:

> I came back to my roots when everything else had fallen apart...you start looking around for something to hold onto...and then you realize who you are...and you finally get a grip...this is where I come from...this is where I tie back into...so you sort of go back into it

In both of these personal accounts, returning to the previously abandoned cultural identity is positively evaluated. This implies these educators' negative evaluation of language minority student's abandoning the native language and cultural identity.

A major goal of the Oyster bilingual program is to provide an alternative to such discriminatory practices for language minority students so that the students can maintain their native language and culture and achieve academically. A paper describing the history and politics of Oyster Bilingual School written and presented by Oyster parents summed up this goal as follows:

> The Director of EDC [Educational Development Center] pushed hard for integrated two-way bilingual education involving English and Spanish speakers. She felt that transitional bilingual education had isolated Hispanic students. In DC [Washington, D.C.] the philosophy placed emphasis on maintaining language and culture (National Association for Bilingual Education conference: 1980).

Señora Ortega' described the outcome of this alternative educational experience for language minority students as follows:

> you see what I'm saying...they're being prepared for something that is making them a better human being...it's amazing...as opposed to this discrimination and bigotry when they're out there

The repetition of these same themes by policy makers, administrators, parents, and teachers made it clear that Oyster sees itself as providing much more than language instruction to its LEP students. Oyster represents itself as providing an alternative to mainstream U.S. educational and societal discriminatory practices that had either been witnessed or experienced personally.

To summarize the Oyster perspective, mainstream U.S. educational and societal discourse locates the problem for LEP students in the students themselves. In this discourse world, the native language and culture is seen as a problem to be overcome, and as a handicap to full participation opportunities.The solution to this problem is for the LEP student, like all language minority students, to assimilate to monolingualism in standard English and to white middle-class norms of interaction and interpretation in order to participate and achieve in school. If the individual does not assimilate to majority ways of speaking and interacting, he/she is a labeled a failure by the institution. There is a growing body of ethnography of communication research to support this perspective (e.g., Michaels, 1981; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Heath, 1983; Philips, 1983; Scarcella, 1992).

Oyster, in contrast, locates the problem for language minority students in mainstream U.S. educational and societal discursive practices–not in the student. Oyster therefore sees itself as providing an alternative to mainstream discourse with respect to minority language use and participation rights. Rather than requiring language minority students to assimilate to language majority ways in order to achieve, the Oyster educational discourse encourages additive bilingualism in Spanish and English for all students and cultural pluralism. This alternative educational discourse ideally provides language minority students a third option: maintain and develop the native language and culture, acquire standard English, and participate and achieve without being discriminated against.[3]

Oyster's representation of itself as one linguistically and culturally diverse "community" that expects additive bilingualism and cultural pluralism as the norm is central to understanding how their program functions within its particular sociopolitical context. Evidence for Oyster's inclusive notion of community can easily be found. According to administrators and policy makers, the program originally began as a grass-roots community effort involving local politicians and parents. The parent organization is referred to as the "Community Council," and is very active in all aspects of school management from raising funds for resource teachers to participating in the hiring of the principal. Parents, whether members of the Community Council or not, are expected to and do volunteer their services throughout the school on a regular basis. The students wear t-shirts that say "Oyster Community Bilingual School." One parent told me, "You know, the great thing about this school is it's like a community that crosses language, cultural, and class lines."

This constructed notion of comembership in the Oyster community is important to emphasize. As Erickson and Schultz point out in their discussion of comembership in counselor/student interactions, "attributes of status such as ethnicity or social class do not fully predict the potential comembership resources" (1982:17). In the case of the Oyster school, the common goal of educating the children is the attribute that ties these individuals from diverse backgrounds into a community which they recognize and explicitly refer to. In other words, the Oyster community has chosen to define themselves as one, rather than as several communities that are often in conflict with each other in U.S. mainstream society.

Understanding the Oyster perspective of their program and of mainstream U.S. educational and societal discourse was crucial to my analysis of the micro-level classroom interaction. It is important, however, to look beyond what the participants explicitly state about their practices. As Bourdieu warns,

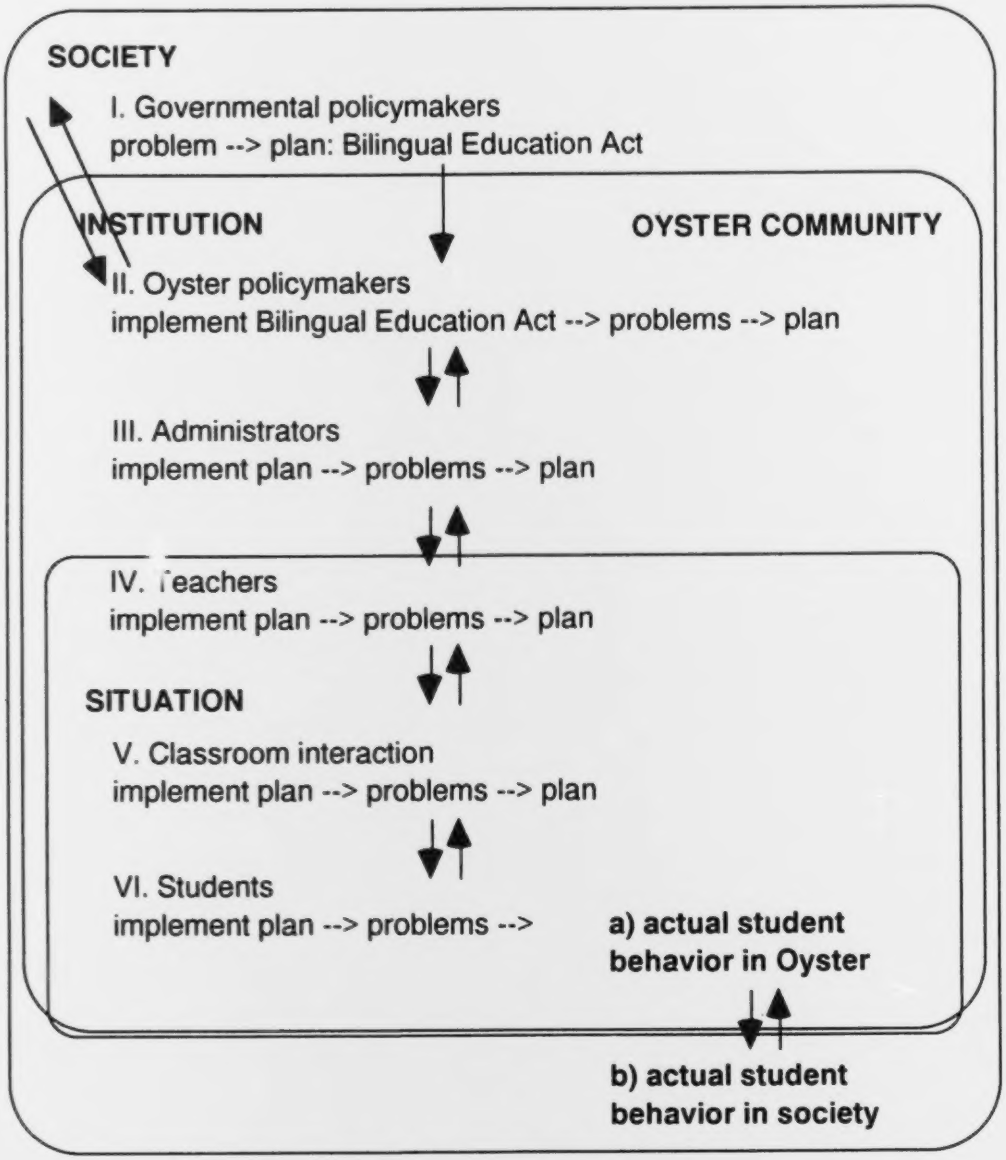
> ...the informant's discourse, in which he strives to give himself the appearance of symbolic mastery of his practice, tends to draw attention to the most remarkable 'moves', i.e., those most esteemed or reprehended in the different social games rather than to the principle from which these moves and all equally possible moves can be generated, and which, belonging to the universe of the undisputed, most often remain in their implicit state (1977:18-19).

For this reason, triangulation of a wide variety of data is essential to the ethnographic inquiry process. In addition to the interviews/conversations and my own classroom observations described above, I collected articles about the program in which someone else interviewed the Oyster participants, pamphlets the school published for conferences they held at Oyster to illustrate their bilingual model in action, copies of presentations that the parents gave at a conference about the program, observations and transcripts of teacher and parent-teacher meetings, samples of student work, etc.

While I collected a wide variety of data to analyze representations of minority language use and participation rights in Oyster Bilingual School as compared to mainstream U.S. schools and society, this study is not exhaustive; the goal was to describe the bilingual education language plan and implementation from as many directions as possible. The identification of patterns that are repeated throughout the discourse (student, teacher, classroom, administrator, parent, and policy statements) work together to make one explanation plausible and to rule out rival hypotheses. The consistency of the Oyster representations of mainstream U.S. school and societal discourse as discriminatory against minority languages and peoples, and of Oyster as successful because it provides an alternative for language minority and majority students alike, contributes to the validity of the interpretation.

This brings us to the question of what the relevant context is. As the discussion above makes clear, the observed classroom practices needed to be located in relation to the underlying Oyster educational discourse and in relation to the mainstream U.S. societal discourse. Figure 1 (below) reflects interrelationships between the situational (classroom), institutional (Oyster school), and societal levels of context, as well as the multiple levels of planning and implementation within Oyster. This framework provided a means of organizing the data collection and analysis, which required movement between levels with analysis of each distinct level continually informing and refining analysis of the others. As the diagram illustrates, one level's plans inevitably present new problems for the next level as attempts are made to implement those plans, which in turn require new plans.

Figure 1: Dynamic interrelationships between Oyster plan and implementation on various planning levels.


SOCIETY
I. Governmental policymakers
problem --> plan: Bilingual Education Act
INSTITUTION
OYSTER COMMUNITY
II. Oyster policymakers
implement Bilingual Education Act --> problems --> plan
III. Administrators
implement plan --> problems --> plan
IV. Teachers
implement plan --> problems --> plan
SITUATION
V. Classroom interaction
implement plan --> problems --> plan
VI. Students
implement plan --> problems -->
a) actual student behavior in Oyster
b) actual student behavior in society

The unidirectional arrow from Level I: Governmental policy makers to Level II: Oyster policy makers illustrates that the law, the Bilingual Education Act, was handed down to schools that have LEP students. It is the school's responsibility to determine how to best implement the law within their context based on several factors (e. g., numbers of LEP students, from which language backgrounds, availability of trained bilingual educators, etc.). There is little dialogue between the societal and institutional levels of context with respect to language planning. The Oyster institutional culture is represented as the intermediate level in the diagram. Because the individuals who constitute Oyster explicitly refer to themselves as one community, I labeled that level "The Oyster Community." The bidirectional arrows at the upper left-hand side of the diagram illustrate the fact that the educational discourse that constitutes Oyster does not exist in isolation. All of the individuals within the Oyster community regularly interact with mainstream U.S. societal discourse with its distinct and often competing assumptions about minority language use and participation rights.

The bidirectional arrows between Level II:Policy makers, Level III:Administrators, Level IV:Teachers, Level V:Classroom interaction, and Level VI:Students illustrate that there is dialogue concerning the plan, implementation, and outcomes within Oyster. The changes that the lower level makes in order to be able to implement the higher level's plan ideally are fed back to the higher level in the form of problems that require new plans. The greatest amount and most complex interaction occurs at the situational level between Level IV:Teachers, Level V:Classroom interaction, and Level VI:Students. As described above, the majority of my efforts focused on gaining an understanding of the dynamics within these levels and relating them to the upper planning and implementation levels; that is to relate the micro-level situational context to the macro-level institutional and societal contexts.

In sum, the ethnographic inquiry process enabled me to understand the Oyster perspective on their program's success, including its relationship to mainstream educational and societal discourse. Since the Oyster construction of the problem for language minority students is very different from the mainstream U.S. construction of that problem, Oyster's solution is necessarily very different from the mainstream solution. Rather than requiring the language minority student to fit into mainstream U.S. discourse, Oyster has created an alternative educational discourse in which minority languages and identities have the right to participate. I turn now to the local theory of identity planning that emerged from my analysis.

Language Planning and Identity Planning for Social Change

The Oyster bilingual education program can best be understood as a language plan within an identity plan that aims to provide equal educational opportunities to its linguistically and culturally diverse student population by socializing its language minority and language majority students into seeing themselves and each other as equal. In order to understand the possibility of Oyster as a social identity project, it is necessary to turn briefly to work on social identity development.

My work is based on the assumption that identity is co-constructed through interaction (Harre, 1984; Davies & Harre, 1990; Ochs, 1993). Davies and Harre (1990) emphasize the constitutive force of language in identity development. If an individual is repeatedly positioned as a particular kind of social being in the micro-level interaction, over time the individual assumes that role with its associated rights and obligations in the social order. Relating this to minority students in schools, it is possible to understand how minority and majority identities are developed relative to each other and to the school by analyzing minority and majority identity display in the classroom discourse over time.[4] Significantly, recognizing the constitutive nature of discourse allows the possibility of an individual refusing a discourse that positions him/her negatively. It then becomes possible for the individual to reposition him/herself favorably in a newly constructed discourse (Davies & Harre, 1990). This theoretical notion of refusing a discourse and reconstructing an alternative in which the individual is positioned more favorably is relevant to my discussion on two levels.

First, it explains how the Oyster planners (policy makers, administrators, teachers) collectively recognized discriminatory practices against language minority students in mainstream U.S. educational discourse, refused that discourse, and collectively constructed the Oyster alternative educational discourse with its goal of socializing its students differently. More specifically, Oyster refuses to see languages other than English as problems to be overcome; they refuse to require assimilation to monolingualism in standard English; they refuse to teach a Eurocentric curriculum that excludes, marginalizes, or stereotypes minority contributions; they refuse to use standardized tests as the sole means of assessing student performance; and they refuse to require all students to behave and interpret behavior solely according to white middle-class norms because Oyster recognizes these mainstream U.S. educational practices as discriminatory, and as contributing to the perpetuation of the subordinate minority role in mainstream U.S. educational and societal discourse. Instead, Oyster positions its language minority students as equal to its language majority students within the linguistically and culturally diverse Oyster 'community' by 1) encouraging them to maintain and develop their native language, culture, and identity in an integrated two-way Spanish-English bilingual education program; 2) including their histories, arts, literatures, experiences, etc. as a focal point in the multicultural curriculum content; 3) assessing their performance through a variety of measures aimed to see what these students can do; and, 4) expecting, tolerating, and respecting diversity within the Oyster community as the way it is.

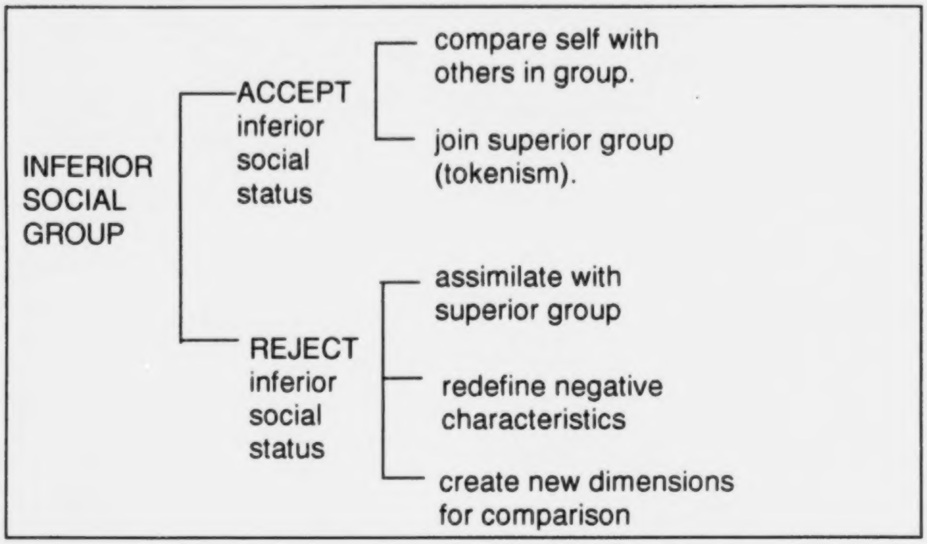
The emphasis on positioning language minority students as equal to language majority students is present in every aspect of the Oyster bilingual program and classroom practices. The students are socialized through the Oyster educational discourse to see additive bilingualism in Spanish and English as the norm, and to see themselves and each other as equally legitimate participants who all have strengths and who can all achieve in school. Such an educational discourse ideally provides language minority students with opportunities to develop positively evaluated minority social identities who have the abilities and the rights to participate and achieve in school without being forced to assimilate.

However, the students do not spend all of their lives in the Oyster alternative educational discourse. Therefore, a second part of the Oyster agenda can be understood as attempting to teach the students to recognize discriminatory practices in which members of minority groups are positioned negatively, to refuse that positioning, and to reposition those individuals more favorably. For example, by presenting multiple perspectives on a historical event rather than only presenting a Eurocentric perspective, students are encouraged to think critically about what they see and hear. By asking students to relate to the characters they read about in the various courses they study, to describe how they would have felt if they had been treated the way one character treated another, to describe what they would have done differently if they had been in a certain position, etc., students are provided with opportunities to recognize and refuse discriminatory practices, and to suggest creative alternatives. This agenda has different implications for minority and majority students. The minority student ideally learns to recognize discriminatory practices in which he or she as an individual is positioned negatively, and strategies to reposition him- or herself more favorably. The majority student ideally learns to recognize discriminatory practices against other individuals, and learns strategies to refuse contributing to the perpetuation of such practices.

Up to this point, I have concentrated on what the individual can do to change his or her negative positioning and social role. In order for social change to take place with the effect of constructing a societal discourse in which people are treated more or less equally regardless of their background (consistent with the Civil Rights Act of 1964), collective action is required. I refer to Tajfel's theory of social change (1974, cited in Coates 1986) in order to explain options available to groups who have an inferior social status. I present this discussion in order to contextualize the strategy that Oyster has selected in their effort to change society so that minority populations have equal participation opportunities.

Figure 2 below illustrates how members of an inferior social group can either accept or reject their inferior position in society.

Figure 2: Tajfel's theory of inter-group relations and social change.
Source: Coates (1986:9)


INFERIOR SOCIAL GROUP
ACCEPT inferior social status
compare self with others in group.
join superior group (tokenism).
REJECT inferior social status
assimilate with superior group
redefine negative characteristics
create new dimensions for comparison

If the inferior social group accepts their inferior social status, members of the social group will try to achieve self-esteem and a positive self-image by operating as individuals, not as a group. In this case, the individuals have two strategies available to them. One option is to measure their successes solely against others within their social group and not compare themselves to members of the superior status group. This is the case, for example, when minority groups remain segregated from the dominant group and compare themselves only to those within that segregated group. A problem with this strategy is that although the minority group members may have self-esteem and a related positive social identity within that limited group, they are not afforded equal opportunities within the society as a whole. A second option is for the individual to attempt to join the superior group, and possibly be accepted as a token. This strategy, however, can present the individual with a very difficult situation because the individual may never be completely accepted by the dominant group, and, having abandoned the minority group, may never be completely part of that group either.

If, on the other hand, the members of the inferior social group refuse to accept their inferior social status as fair, they can, as a group, attempt to change things. According to Tajfel (1974, cited in Coates 1986), there are three ways to accomplish this; these strategies usually occur historically in the order presented. The first strategy is to try to demand equality with the dominant group by assimilating to that group's norms. This is clearly the strategy that mainstream U.S. educational and societal discourse encourages. In order for language minority students to obtain equal educational opportunities in U.S. public schools, they need to acquire standard English and white middle-class norms of interaction and interpretation. Under this strategy, the characteristics associated with the inferior social group are considered handicaps to full participation. Therefore, members of Spanish speaking groups, for example, tend to abandon the Spanish language and norms of interaction and interpretation associated with their particular Spanish speaking group because they learn that standard English and white middle-class norms are the keys to success in mainstream United States institutions. If the individual Spanish speaker, for example, does not assimilate, he or she as an *individual* is labeled a failure by the institution.

However, there is an increasing number of students who come from other than standard English speaking white middle-class backgrounds, and these individuals drop out of U.S. public schools at a disproportionately high rate (Cummins, 1989). In addition, as many of the personal experience narratives I collected at Oyster illustrate, the minority students' perception of forced assimilation can have negative consequences for personal identity development. It is arguable that this assimilation strategy, as currently practiced, is not accomplishing its goal of providing equal educational opportunities to all students.

The second option available to minority social groups who refuse to accept the negative minority status is to redefine negative characteristics. At Oyster, as opposed to the mainstream U.S. educational discourse definition of Spanish as less prestigious than English, Spanish is redefined as equal to English. This effort is evidence by the policy of equal distribution of Spanish and English within the curriculum content and classroom interaction, illustrating to the students that Spanish is 'good enough' to fulfill the educational function. In addition, the curriculum content is not Eurocentric but includes the histories, arts, literatures, scientific contributions, etc. of the various populations represented in the school; this illustrates to the students that all these groups are legitimate and provides them with multiple perspectives on any one event. In sum, efforts to redefine bilingualism and cultural pluralism as positive qualities are present in every aspect of the curriculum design and implementation.

With respect to the third strategy of creating new dimensions for comparison, a primary goal of the Oyster program is the development of positively evaluated minority identities: from the Oyster perspective, such positive minority social identities have not been readily available within the discriminatory United States society. Oyster, therefore, makes a collective effort to socialize the minority and majority children alike into recognizing the existence of positive minority identities whose differences are expected, tolerated, and respected within the educational discourse. Oyster's two-way bilingual education model, an inclusive non-Eurocentric curriculum content, performance-based assessment, team-teaching, and cooperative learning help fulfill these goals.[5]

It seems reasonable to believe that if people from minority groups collectively and continually refuse negative positioning in the interaction; and if people from majority groups become aware of the discriminatory practices that prevail in societal discourse, eventually people (minority and majority alike) will slowly change to expect more or less equal participation opportunities, regardless of background. Given schools' roles in socializing the students into understanding their social identities relative to the school and society, the schools can be considered a rich ground for social change. By the schools' recognition of discriminatory practices prevalent in mainstream society and by its creation of an alternative educational discourse, it is possible to redefine students' roles and rights of speaking through positioning, thus making possible social change from the bottom up. This, at least, seems to be the goal of what I refer to as the "Oyster identity plan."[6]

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to illustrate how an ethnographic approach provides a principled means of studying how the successful Oyster bilingual program functions in its sociopolitical context. In conclusion, I briefly comment on the generalizability of my findings to other educational contexts, and on the value of ethnography as a tool for educational research and policy development.

The particulars of Oyster's successful program, that is, equal distribution and evaluation of Spanish and English throughout the students' educational experience, are the least generalizable to other settings. However, as Watson-Gegeo writes,

> a carefully done emic analysis precedes and forms the basis for etic extensions that allow for cross-cultural or cross-setting comparisons....The ethnographer first seeks to build a theory of the setting under study, then to extrapolate or generalize from that setting or situation to others studied in a similar way. The comparison must be built on careful emic work, and it must be recognized that direct comparison of the details of two or more settings is usually not possible. Comparison is possible at a more abstract level, however (1988:540-541).

It is at the more abstract level of identity planning that my findings are potentially generalizable.

An understanding of implications of educational programs and practices for students' identity development and display relative to each other is an essential starting point in identity planning projects. This requires careful attention to how students are positioned relative to each other in the face-to-face interaction over time. an ethnography of communication approach can provide such an understanding.

Once the researcher/practitioner identifies negative implications for particular identity groups, for example, LEP, women, African American, etc., the next step in identity planning is to refuse that discourse and construct an alternative discourse in which the individual/group is positioned more favorably. This point cannot be underestimated. Recognizing the constitutive nature of discourse means that we have choices in the language we use in our interactions with each other. As the research shows, the Oyster educators refuse the construction of language minority students' ways of speaking and interacting as the problem blocking their equal educational opportunities. Instead, the Oyster educational discourse constructs mainstream U.S. educational and societal discourse as the problem, so the solution requires changing not the students but the educational discourse. Their strategy involves redefining negative characteristics as positive–for example, defining Spanish as equal to English–and defining languages other than standard English and cultural norms other than white middle class as resources to be maintained and developed. In addition, their strategy includes creating new dimensions for comparison, for example, two-way bilingual education, an inclusive curriculum content, team-teaching, cooperative learning, and performance-based assessment. While Oyster's measures are not appropriate everywhere, other strategies that focus on the inclusion and positive evaluation of minority languages and identities can be created to meet the needs of other socio-political contexts.

This last point is important to emphasize. Researchers/practitioners must consider how alternative educational programs and practices would function in context. In this sense, ethnography provides a powerful tool for education, not only to research effects of existing policies and practices, but to consider implications of future policy decisions. Without an understanding of the cultural context that a plan is intended for, it is possible that the plan will be ineffective, or worse, that it may have outcomes other than those originally intended.

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[1] See Mishler (1986) for discussion of alternative approaches to research interviewing.

[2] See Fairclough (1989) for discussion.

[3] See Freeman (forthcoming) for further discussion.

[4] See Carbaugh (1990) for discussion of how to analyze identity display.

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[5] See Freeman (unpublished dissertation) for numerous examples, and detailed analysis and discussion.

[6] It is important to emphasize that Oyster does not exist in a sociopolitical vacuum and all the participants interact with mainstream society on a regular basis. My ethnographic/discourse analytic study illustrates how the tension between Oyster's alternative educational discourse and mainstream educational discourse with respect to language usage, participation rights, and relative social identity explains systematic discrepancies between ideal policy and actual implementation.

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Communicative functions of speech in a monolingual kindergarten

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This paper describes the communicative functions of language in a monolingual public school kindergarten. Saville-Troike's six categories of communicative function are used to classify and examine the speech acts of the members of this community. The relationship of these functions to one another and to the purposes of the school are discussed.

Language is the medium of education; participants in the educational process are expected to be able to read, write, and speak in diverse ways in order to expand their knowledge base and thinking skills. The way the participants use language in the classroom provides a wealth of information about the values, attitudes, abilities, and intentions of the participants.

Language has not gone unattended to by researchers who look at educational settings. Detailed studies have been done by Crahas and Delhaxle (1991), Kearney (1991), White and Kistner (1991) and others that focus on the ways teachers use language in the classroom. Many studies have also been done on language use in second language classrooms (e.g. Wong Filmore, 1980; Cooley & Lujan, 1982; Sapiens, 1982). Less work has been done describing and discussing language use by students in American public schools where standard English is used by the participants.

Ethnography, an analytic description of a cultural scene, is often used to provide rich data about the context and activities of participants in educational settings (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). This paper is a descriptive ethnography that focuses analysis on the micro level. The researcher intends to look at language use and functions in a public school kindergarten and describe the patterns observed.

A kindergarten class in the School District of Latham[1] was observed. The school, Latham Elementary, has 560 children ranging from kindergarten to fourth grade. Students range in age from 5 to 11. Latham Elementary is in a suburban district bordering a large East Coast city. The school, like the community, is multi-cultural, including European Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans. The school has significant Jewish and Korean populations within those categories.

Room 4, the kindergarten observed, has 26 students, a full-time teacher, and a part-time aide. Of those 26 students, 11 are female and 15 are male. Both the teacher and the aide are female. Of the 11 females, 7 are European Americans, 1 is Asian American, and 3 are African Americans. Of the 15 males, 11 are European Americans, 2 are Asian Americans, and 2 are African Americans. Therefore, 11.5% of the class is Asian American, 19.2% is African American, and 69.2% is European American. Both the teacher and the aide are European American.

The educational philosophy espoused by Mrs. Goldberg, the teacher, is whole language. While Mrs. Goldberg didn't define *whole language*, Goodman defines it as a philosophy where "learners are encouraged to take risks and invited to use language, in all its varieties, for their own purposes" (1986:40). In a whole language classroom, "all the varied functions of oral and written language are appropriate and encouraged" (1986:40). Mrs. Goldberg describes her room as a place where children are encouraged to read, write, and talk.

Observations were conducted at the beginning of the day. Observations included circle time, math time, and free time. Each day started with circle time, where the children were asked to share a verbal response to a prompt from the teacher. The daily schedule was also read during this time. Following circle time was math time. In math, the children used small objects as counters to show a number, wrote about the number and explained their story to the teacher or aide. As children finished their math work, they had free time to read books and play in various classroom areas.

The class was observed four times for a total of six hours or one and one half hours each time. Handwritten notes were taken by one observer who recorded exact quotes whenever possible. Careful attention was paid to the speech of the children. However, individual speakers were not consistently identified in the notes. The teacher and aide were identified when their speech was recorded, however their speech was recorded less often.

Hymes suggests ethnographers use a paradigmatic approach when describing speech behavior and use (1968). This approach begins with discovering a relevant frame or context. The researcher then identifies items that contrast with the context and determines the dimensions of contrast. This paradigmatic approach was applied to the observations of Room 4.

The search for a relevant frame begins with the identification of a speech community (Saville-Troike, 1989). For this study, Room 4 is defined as a speech community, and is therefore the frame for this analysis. The members of this community share the same work space for roughly five hours a day. Within this space there is a quantity of interaction among all participants. This meets Gumperz's (1962) definition of a speech community which focuses on the frequency and quantity of interaction.

The members of this community also share rules and norms of language use, thereby fulfilling Hymes' (1972) requirements for a speech community. The members are expected to speak standard English even if they know another language variety. Members are also expected to answer direct questions from adults. Members share classroom and school rules about speaking. These include raising your hand before speaking and allowing only one person to speak at a time.

All talk observed in the classroom situation was in standard English. Mrs. Goldberg reported that none of her 26 students were participants in the school's English as a Second Language program. However, several of her students used home languages other than standard English. These languages includes Bulgarian, Greek, Korean, and Chinese.

The teacher also reported that several children may speak Black English Vernacular (BEV) in their homes. She added with pride that no student used BEV in the classroom. She described herself as "active" in promoting "proper English" among her students. She gave an example of this as correcting "me and my friends" to "my friends and I."

Also, there are clear roles being fulfilled in this classroom speech community, roles such as teacher, student and aide. Within those roles are norms about whose speech carries how much prestige and power. The teacher has the most power. She sits in a chair during circle while the children are on the floor. She stands when the students are seated at their desk. She manages both the topics and the turns of speakers. The aide, as an adult, has more power than the students. She moves about the classroom at will and can speak at almost any time.

Within the roles of the students, power is also distributed, with some individuals exercising more power than others. Some students talk over a more timid student's turn, thereby directing the turn taking process to their advantage. Other students rarely speak unless spoken to.

Within this speech community of the members of Room 4, several speech situations exist. The community members interact in the playground, the cafeteria, the gymnasium, and the classroom. They were observed only in the speech situation of the classroom. The classroom meets Saville-Troike's definition of a speech situation by maintaining "a consistent general configuration of activities" although a great diversity of interaction occurs within the situation (1989:27).

Speech events are defined by Saville-Troike (1989) as a unified set of components, including the same general communication purpose, the same general topic, the same participants, the same language variety, and a single setting. All speech events observed in

Room 4 share the classroom setting and language variety. The overarching communicative purpose of the speech events observed was the education of the students. Several speech events within this situation were observed, including circle time, math time, and free time. The three events vary according to topic, topic control and participants.

Each day began with circle time. Circle time was led by the teacher. She sat in a chair while the students sat in a circle on a rug. The teacher set the topic and the students contributed in round robin fashion. The aide was not a participant in circle time. The topics I observed were: 1) What did you do this weekend? 2) Name things that are green; 3) Tell me about a time you were scared; and 4) Tell an April Fool's joke. Circle time also included a teacher-directed group reading of the day's schedule.

Math time was another speech event. Math lessons focused on identifying and showing numbers using manipulatives. A number was introduced and students built subsets that totaled the number. For example, a boy had a card that depicted a pond and a grassy area. He put three clay frogs in the pond and five outside it. This represented the target number "eight."

Students then drew a picture based on their work with the manipulatives and wrote a story about the picture. Each child told his or her story to either the teacher or the aide in order to check for comprehension of the concepts. This was an important step, as kindergartners are emerging writers and their written stories were often in invented spelling. Many of the stories were a string of poorly written unrelated letters to which the children brought meaning when they read them aloud. Topics of speech were mostly task-related during this speech event. Participants included the teacher, the aide, and the students.

The third speech event was free time. After telling their math stories to an adult, students were free to choose activities within the classroom. These activities included: coloring, doing puzzles, playing with toys, and reading. Most chose to gather on the rug to share in book-related activities. Some children actually read, but most engaged in book reading behaviors, such as turning the pages and describing what was happening in the pictures. During this time the students talked among themselves about whatever they chose. Both the teacher and the aide worked with individuals who had problems with their math.

Within any given speech event there exist many speech acts. Saville-Troike contrasts the ethnographic usage of the term "speech act" to the usage preferred by pragmatists or speech act theorists. The former limits "speech act" to a single grammatical sentence, while the latter focuses on a functional perspective. In the ethnography of communication, a single sentence may have more than one function (1989:15).

Conversely, a speech act may include more than one sentence if those sentences together fill one functional role.

The data recorded from observations in Room 4 was separated into speech acts. This was done by rereading the data and deciding which groups of words represented a single idea. The speech acts transcribed ranged in length from one word to thirteen words. These extremes include:

> Stop!
> Jacob!
> Monday!
> Why did the chicken cross the road?
> I'm gonna put four in the water and four out of the water.

Grammatically, some speech acts are less than a complete sentence while others are one or two grammatical sentences in length:

> ...wanted to ride a camel.
> How many, Marios?
> I don't care. I'm not giving you any.

The communicative function of the 290 speech acts transcribed will be the focus of the microanalysis.

Hymes states the functions of communication are directly related to the participants' purposes and needs (in Saville-Troike, 1989:14). Room 4's needs and purposes have been organized according to the communicative functions delineated by Saville-Troike (1989:14). These include the directive function, the expressive function, the metalinguistic function, the phatic function, the poetic function, and the referential function.

The process of labeling a speech act as one discrete function or another is nearly impossible. In Hymes' analysis of the Shakespeare quote "Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more," he shows how the quote can be assigned to each of the six categories of communicative functions. For example, to the actor, it may be an expressive; to the soldiers in the play it may be directive. Hymes resolves this dilemma by recommending that the researcher recognize a hierarchy of functions within a social setting (1968:120). Speech acts can be categorized according to their most significant social function. However, in some situations no one function can override others (Hymes, 1968:120).

Recognizing the inherent limits of this type of categorization, an attempt was made to focus on the most salient function of each speech act within each specific speech event. Grammar and lexicon were used as a starting point in categorizing, but social function was the main consideration.

Of the 290 speech acts, 40% (116) were labeled directives. Expressives accounted for 5.5% (16) of the speech acts. Zero metalingüistic speech acts were recorded. Phatic speech acts constituted 13.8% (40) of the speech acts and 2.1% (6) were poetic. The remaining 38.6% (112) were referential.

Functional Categories of Speech Acts Observed in Room 4

	Circle Time	Math Time	Free Time
Directive	32	68	16
Expressive	12	2	2
Metalinguistic	0	0	0
Phatic	40	0	0
Poetic	0	6	0
Referential	18	78	16

The directive function of language accounted for 40% (116) of the speech acts recorded in Room 4. This percentage is the largest of all the encoded categories. Students used directives with one another, with the teacher and with the aide. Examples include:

> Mrs. Lloyd, help me write my name.
> She said table four.
> Stop!
> Don't even try to take one!
> Me! Me!

Saville-Troike defines the directive function as "requesting or demanding" (1989:14). So perhaps the directive function of language seems natural in the education environment. Hymes associates the directive function with imperatives, which account for sixteen of the speech acts in this category (1968:117). Other imperatives appear in question form, but are meant to control the actions of others:

> What did we say about tying shoes together?
>
> Are you allowed to have that?

A majority of both the teacher's and the aide's speech were directives:

> Alex are you all done?
>
> Sarah, tomorrow is...?
>
> Give this to the teacher, Ryan.
>
> Listen!

Interestingly, only 38 of the 116 directives observed were produced by the teacher. Six were produced by the aide. The remaining 72 directives were peer interactions.

According to Saville-Troike's definition, expressive speech acts "convey feelings or emotions" (1989:12). Expressive speech accounted for 5.5% (16) of the acts recorded. Twelve of the 16 used a first person pronoun. Examples include:

> Mine was so funny!
> I don't care!
> I think I know!
> I'm gonna punch you in the face!
> I don't need your help!

The above statements, and others such as "Ow!" and "Darn!" placed the emphasis on the speaker and his or her desire to convey personal feelings. For most of these speech acts, the effect on the listener was secondary to the speech act's effect on the speaker. The expressive function, therefore, has more importance for the speaker than for the listener. Hymes associates expressives with first person pronouns and interjections (1968:116). All the speech acts identified as expressive in this study include first person pronouns or interjections.

Forty, or 13.8%, of the speech acts recorded in Room 4 had a phatic function. These included the Pledge of Allegiance, which was recited chorally following circle time. The Pledge was counted as one speech act.[2] Its primary function was to symbolize the children's membership in the national community.

All of the other phatic acts were also observed during circle time. Students contributions to the circle time prompts followed a pattern. The teacher set the topic and the students all contributed a response round-robin style. Mrs. Goldberg stated the purpose of circle was to encourage students to improve their oral communication skills. The students' purpose seemed different. Almost all student responses followed the form and often the content of the first student's response. The communicative function of responses during circle time for the children was to entertain one another, while conforming closely to group members' previous contributions.

During circle time on April Fool's Day, the students were asked to tell an April Fool's Joke. They had been assigned to learn one for the previous night's homework. The first child told the following joke:

> Why did the chicken stop in the middle of the road?

No student answered, so the student finished:

> He wanted to lay one on the line.

The class laughed and the student smiled broadly.

Every joke that followed used the same format. However, none of the jokes were sensible in that there was no relationship between the set-up question and the punch line:

> Why did the roaster go to Hawaii?
> ...(he) wanted to ride a camel.
>
> Why did the chicken walk around the room?
> ...he wanted to join the Army.

The most original joke still followed a similar format:

> How do you get a cat out of cement?
> ...with a meatball.

Every joke was received with great laughter by the group.

The same pattern emerged in answers to the prompt: "Tell me about a time you were scared." The first child said she was always afraid of the dark. Each child in the group then added that he or she was also afraid of the dark, adding the intensifier "so" in longer and longer tones as the turn taking progressed.

> I am soooo afraid of the dark.
> When my mom turns out the light, that's when I'm so, so, so, so, scared.

Group members responded with empathetic sighs and "yeahs." The function of both the jokes and these statements about the dark was to solidify group membership.

Saville-Troike defines the phatic function as showing "empathy and solidarity" (1989:14). While all the speech acts encoded here as *phatic* carry expressive, referential and directive functions as well, the primary social function of these acts was to show group solidarity and connect the members of this speech community to one another.

Poetic speech accounts for the smallest percentage of functional speech acts recorded. The six poetic speech acts all took place during the speech event of math time. As described earlier, students were using manipulatives to show subsets with one to one correspondence to a number. Many of these manipulatives were animal shapes. While creating his subsets, one student was observed saying "Ribbit" while working with frog manipulatives and another saying "Oink Oink" while working with pig manipulatives. These speech acts were not directed at specific listeners, nor did they result in a response from other students who may have heard them.

The purpose of these speech acts seemed to be the enjoyment of the language itself. Therefore, these speech acts were considered aesthetic, or poetic in Saville-Troike's framework. Hymes (1968) discusses the poetic function in light of Jakobson's work. According to Hymes, Jakobson reminds us that while poetry itself fits into the poetic function of language, the category extends beyond poetry. The poetic function is usually used in conjunction with the other functions of speech, especially the referential. Hymes uses a passage from Alexander Pope, "The sound must seem an echo to the sense," as an example (122). The speech acts of "Ribbit" and "Oink Oink" are, in and of themselves, sufficient for the speakers.

In this study, 38.6% (112) of the speech acts recorded are classified as referential. The majority of these referentials were observed during the speech event of math time or at the end of circle time when the class read the daily schedule. During the speech event of math time, the recorded referential speech acts included:

> I'm gonna put four (manipulatives) in the water and four out of the water.
> I've got eight.
> These are pointy pigs.
> I've got five greens and eight reds.
> They're apples.

Many of these were recorded while students told their stories to the teacher and the aide.

Other referentials included answers to the teacher's questions about the daily schedule:

> What day of the week is it?
> Wednesday.
>
> Should we count how many days until Sunday?
> 1,2,3,4.
>
> What is our weather like today?
> It is cloudy outside.
>
> On Wednesday, what Special do we have?
> Gym! We have gym today.

Referentials were also recorded during free time, usually concerning books:

> No, I'm looking for a nature book.
>
> There's no octopuses in this book.

Saville-Troike defines referentials as having "true or false propositional content" (1989:14). Referentials are the primary way speakers convey factual information to listeners. As suggested by Burke, any utterance can have a referential aspect (in Hymes 1968). However, in many cases, the reference is not as salient as the other functions of the speech act. The acts coded as referential here have, as their primary focus, the intent to provide true or false information from the speaker to the listener. Most often, the speaker was a student and the listener the teacher or the aide.

Conclusion

The members of the speech community in Room 4 used language for a variety of functions and purposes. They were most likely to use language in order to direct another's actions or to communicate factual information to one another. They were less likely to use speech as a means of personal expression, to show group solidarity or simply as language play.

Aside from the referential function, which accounts for most speech, the directive and phatic functions of language stood out. The children in Room 4 used much of their speech to influence the actions of their peers and to build group solidarity. Interestingly, Mrs. Goldberg stated that while her primary focus in kindergarten was to nurture emergent literacy, it was also a time for the children to learn how to interact within the large group setting of the classroom. This was evidenced by the functions of the speech they produced. The students were using language as a way to manage the dynamics of their group.

This study leads to several questions. How would these observations compare with those done in a similar speech community where the teacher did not espouse a philosophy that invited students "to use language in all its varieties, for their own purposes" (Goodman, 1986:40)? How might the findings differ if the speech situation were in a similar classroom, but in a more linguistically diverse speech community? Are there any correlations between the gender or ethnicity of the speaker and the functions of the speech they produce? Finally, how do the patterns here correlate to the theories of child development that describe language use by children at this age?[3]

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[1] A fictitious name.

[2] It was not recorded verbatim and, therefore, is not included in the discussion of speech act length and grammar .

[3] A version of this paper was originally written for Dr. Nancy Hornberger's Sociolinguistics in Eduction class (ED 546) at the Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania.

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Acquisition planning, ethnic discourse, and the Ecuadorian nation-state

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Language planning in Ecuador is best understood as one aspect or component of a larger dialogue between the state and the Indian population.[1] Language planning from "above," referring to official, government sanctioned policy and practice, and language planning "from below" meaning grassroots efforts controlled by the Indian population, both aim to influence language behavior and both have ultimately been directed at social and political goals. The larger discussion is concerned with issues such as cultural autonomy, agrarian rights, and recognition of Ecuador as a pluricultural, multilingual nation. This paper will focus on what is perhaps the most immediate and widespread instance of language planning, acquisition planning, and reveal how it is a tool employed by dialogue participants to reach extra-linguistic aims; the changes in the national acquisition policy that have resulted from this process will also be outlined.

In the last thirty years, indigenous populations of the Americas have grown increasingly vocal in their dissent to the governmental policies which long threatened their cultural survival. Unlike previous social and political movements in the region, much of this dissent movement has been organized along ethnic lines.[2] This paper will examine the language planning effors, and in particular the acquisition planning efforts of the ethnically based political groups and the national government of Ecuador. As locally organized ethnic groups have grown in numbers and in strength, frequently implementing education programs designed to influence language behavior, traditional language planning perspectives appear increasingly unable to theoretically frame language planning efforts that originate from both "below" and "above."

This is largely due to two related trends which have remained intact throughout the development of the language planning field. Definitions and models of language planning have typically focused on the processes involved in solving communication problems, assuming that all members experience the problem and benefit from the solution. Closely related is the traditional view of language planning as the work of official committees and academies, as an activity carried out from the top-down (Cooper, 1989). Few have considered the efforts of those outside government agencies or other authoritative bodies, which has limited the field to describing, evaluating, and critiquing efforts implemented by such agencies. This perspective precludes consideration of language planning efforts which have occurred at the grass-roots level or those initiated by individuals (Cooper, 1989). It fails to account for language users as active participants, but rather views them as subjects of language planning measures. Given these two inclinations, it is not surprising that the field has run out of theoretical steam. Absent in the literature is an analytical framework which allows language planning to be understood as the conscious process and product of negotiation between groups.

The Nation-State and Ethnic Discourse

There is an inherent tension between the national government, which attempts to unify a diverse population and create a national community,[3] and ethnic minority groups which work to maintain themselves, assert their cultural "right" to existence. While rarely existing in diverse post-colonial societies, the conceptually ideal nation-state is that which is comprised of a group of people having a common origin, culture, and language, in which the "vertical authority structures are rooted in, and dependent upon the horizontal bonds of trust and identification among those persons who fall under its presumed jurisdiction" (Enloe, 1981:124). The degree to which the (vertical) state system is reflective of the (horizontal) national community and satisfies the (horizontal) population's needs, determines the success of the nation-state in its efforts to create a cohesive national community (Kelman, 1971).

Ecuador is of particular interest for this discussion because of its powerful indigenous organizations and large and numerous indigenous groups. There are,ten Indian nationalities, which comprise more than 30% of the population (Yanez Cossio & Tomoselli, 1990). Roughly 40% of the population speaks an Indian language; degrees of bilingualism vary.

The state's goals to modernize, develop, and maintain itself necessarily entail efforts to incorporate and acculturate ethnic minority groups–and regularly threatens their survival. This phenomena is apparent in Ecuador; its status as a multilingual, pluri-ethnic liberal democracy coupled with its efforts to modernize and develop along Western lines has lead to policies which often work at cross-purposes. For example, while the Borja administration conceded a large communal land grant to a group of Amazonian Indians, the administration simultaneously has taken aggressive measures to incorporate them into the national culture (Selverston, 1993).

While resistance to social incorporation and ethnic assimilation (and the economic policies which demand it) has always existed,[4] the power of the indigenous groups to vocalize dissent and participate in a dialogue with the government has increased considerably in the last 30 years [5]

Ethnic discourse "expresses the creation or reinforcement of group identity, among or between groups, where it establishes 'the vessel of meaning and emblem of contrast' as DeVos and Romanucci-Ros (1982:363-390) call it" (Diskin, 1991:157). Ethnic discourse is the establishment of group identity, recognition of group rights, and the subsequent movement towards realization of group goals; it allows for and results in continued social and political negotiation. The discourse incorporates varied strategic and tactical aspects and a variety of tools (Diskin, 1991). Language planning is one of the primary tools used in the ongoing ethnic negotiation between the Indian population and Ecuador's political leadership.

Language Planning and Acquisition Planning

Language planning efforts can serve as a group's tool for any number of tactical moves: defining ethnic boundaries, drawing attention to the size or power of a group, breaking traditional stereotypes, increasing internal cohesion, or challenging the status quo. Of particular interest in Ecuador are the Indian language planning efforts directed at bilingual education programs, which have touched all of these goals.

While there have been instances of efforts geared towards semi-linguistic and linguistic aims in Ecuador,[6] the bulk of language planning has been designed and implemented with extra-linguistic goals. The extra-linguistic aims in the case of Ecuador are directed at internal autonomy, cultural and agrarian rights, and ultimately full recognition of Ecuador as a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic nation. As Rabin's classification of language planning aims demonstrates, these extra-linguistic measures frequently involve instruction of a language to a large number of people, noting that "this kind of planning tends to shade off into educational planning" (1971:277).

Acquisition planning is generally concerned with the users and distribution of a language. Three acquisition planning goals can be distinguished: acquisition as a second language, re-acquisition of a language by populations for whom it was once either a vernacular or a language with a specialized function, or language maintenance (Cooper, 1989). The linguistic politics of Ecuador have centered around the maintenance or extinction of Indian languages (Chuquin, 1986); acquisition planning has been directed at their formal role (home v. school) and functional role (shift v. maintenance) in society [7]

Despite the fact that "bilingual education may well be one of the major examples of language planning today" (Fishman, 1979:11), acquisition planning is one of the least explored areas of language planning; focus has traditionally been more on the easily isolated status or corpus policy. Acquisition planning can, of course, be implemented from above and from below and like all language planning is "directed ultimately at nonlinguistic ends" (Cooper, 1989:35). The remainder of the paper will outline the shape the discourse in Ecuador has taken in ideological and actual form. Government and indigenous acquisition policies and positions will be described. The results or compromises of the extended negotiation will also be reviewed.

Governmental Language Planning

Most governments, including Ecuador's, recognize the power of language to serve as "a(n) uniquely powerful instrument in unifying a diverse population and in involving individuals and subgroups in the national system" (Kelman, 1971:21). Until very recently the state's acquisition policy and implementation has remained relatively constant: shift away from indigenous languages and cultures to Spanish has been either an explicit or implicit goal. Carmen Chuquin, an applied linguist and Quichua Indian, summarizes: "under the ideology of national unification, education programs have been programs of *Hispanicization* and *acculturation*" (1986:3, emphasis hers). Similarly, in the words of one Shuar, the government's intent has been "through expansion...to acculturate, integrate, and finally assimilate indigenous groups and their cultures" (Puwáinchir Wajárai, 1989:295). The state and Hispanic elite of Ecuador, guided by the Western notion of a homogenous nation-state and development agendas, have encouraged and coerced integration of indigenous groups into the national culture and economy.

Until recently almost all formal schooling was conducted in Spanish; for most Ecuadorians, the school is an inherently Hispanic entity. This system has resulted in curricula which are irrelevant and instruction which is ineffective (Yanez Cossio, 1989). Many students are forced to repeat grades; drop out rates, not surprisingly, are high. The Meztizo teachers convey the attitudes of dominant society. Implicit in school education is the superiority of the urban, of the Spanish, of the Hispanic people and culture (Chuquin, 1986). As stated by a government official, "the state...has demonstrated itself to be incapable of respecting ethnic cultures and languages" (Abram, 1989:415). Prior to the 1960's; state policy has periodically mentioned the need for (transitional) bilingual education, but in practice little has changed. Generally state-run Ecuadorian schools have at best, ignored Indian languages and cultures, and at worst, actively repressed them (Chuquin, 1986).

Indigenous Language Planning

The Organizations

The origins of the now numerous and powerful organizations based on ethnicity date back to the early sixties, when development pressure in the Amazon became so intense that the cultural and economic survival of groups native to that region was threatened. In response, the Shuar, a group of about 45,000 who reside principally in the Amazon, organized local centers for political action. The *Federación Shuar* (Shuar Federation), a union of these local groups, was officially established in 1964 (Cotacachi, 1989; Puwáinchir Wajárai, 1989; Ruiz, 1989).

Self-determination within a recognized multicultural Ecuadorian state both was and remains the over-arching goal of the Shuar (Puwáinchir Wajárai, 1989). As is true for many indigenous groups, including the Shuar, access to land and agrarian rights are inextricably connected to cultural and linguistic survival. The Shuar work to preserve the economic and cultural independence through defending common agrarian interests, resolving historic land conflicts of the region, and asserting their political rights to self-determination and direct representation (Ruiz, 1989).

The Shuar inspired and served as an example for other groups. In 1978 the pan-Amazonian organization, *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonia Ecuatoriana* (CONFENIAE), was formed to represent all groups of the region (of which the Shuar were the largest) (Ruiz, 1989). *Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui* (ECUARUNARI), a Quichua group, was established shortly thereafter. A multitude of other organizations developed, merged, and realigned in the following years. The current recognized representative of all Indian populations of Ecuador is the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de Ecuador* (CONAIE). Formed in 1986 and officially recognized by the government soon after, CONAIE represents the ten major indigenous nations.[8]

While specific demands vary from group to group, the issues pursued by Ecuadorian organizations generally parallel concerns of Indian peoples throughout Latin America. Central issues include (1) land and agrarian rights and concerns relating to subsoil and natural resources, (2) cultural and legal identity issues relating to educational and linguistic policies, and (3) questions of local and regional autonomy and self-determination (Stavenhagen, 1992).

Why is it that ethnic groups have become such powerful political forces in Ecuador recently? Conditions have been as difficult, if not worse in the past. The oil boom has kept the Ecuadorian economy afloat in recent decac nd the standard of living is generally higher than in neighboring Andean countries. Yet while Indian organizations exist in other nations, they are not as numerous, nor as influential as Ecuador's. While rebellions such as the massive Indian revolt led by Túpac Amaru II in 1780-82 have occurred periodically, there was been little sustained, organized political mobilization based on ethnicity prior to the sixties.

Of primary importance in answering the "why now?" question is the growth of the indigenous elite and intelligentsia out of the school ranks. Due in part to Ecuador's relatively stable economic base and investment in formal education, certain indigenous groups, most notably the Otavalons of the Northern Highlands, have had access to formal education for decades. These schooled individuals have been instrumental in the formation of Indian controlled bilingual schools and cultural centers. Also important was the wide-spread disillusionment with development policies which were especially prominent in Ecuador in the seventies (Selverston, 1993). Another factor was the growing dissatisfaction with traditional parties to the right, which stress capitalist development and market integration, and to the left, which advocate class identification, both failing to address ethnicity. A final factor which continues to galvanize the Indian movements, although not mentioned by Stavenhagen, are the misleading or altogether unfulfilled promises frequently made by government authorities. For example, the Amazonian communal land grant mentioned above was written, despite promises to the contrary, so as not to allow the group any use of the resources of that territory (Selverston, 1993).

Language Planning and Educational Programs

Indian languages in Ecuador have an extremely limited functional allocation. Spanish is considered to be the language of the *buena gente* (decent people); indigenous languages are not used in most public domains.[9] The status of the indigenous languages, mirrors the status of its speakers. As Hornberger has pointed out, "language policy and language use reflect the socio-cultural and politico-economic divisions of a society; they can also be vehicles for challenging those divisions" (in press). The use of Indian languages in new domains by the Indian organizations is a vehicle and tool for challenging state policy in terms of the functional and formal role of languages.

One of the aims of the acquisition policy planning of Shuar and Quichua groups is self-determination and cultural autonomy. The programs that are designed, organized, and administered by Indians allow for greater control over their own children's education, but also permit them to assert themselves as capable and distinct groups. "The participation of the Indian movement in education in some aspects was an act of 'educating' all of the population about the content and form of civil rights, and in particular, rights concerning culture and identity" (Moya, 1991: 8).

In 1972, the Shuar Federation initiated *Sistemas de Educación Radiofónica Bicultural Shuar* (SERBISH). Their objectives were to develop local cultures, encourage mutual assistance between groups, eradicate illiteracy, school the population between the ages of 6 and 15, and ensure the permanence of the communities in which the inhabitants live. A guiding principle was to make the school system reflect the "Shuar reality." With 31 radio school centers and 31 monitors, the Federation was able to reach 506 students in its first year. In 1977 SERBISH was officialized through Decreto Supremo 1160 and began operation at the secondary level (Puwáinchir Wajárai, 1989). In 1988 there were 4,519 students enrolled at 187 primary schools and 731 students at 39 secondary schools (Puwáinchir Wajárai, 1989).

The pedagogical theory of the program emphasized not mixing Shuar and Spanish, but using both for all topics. In the first cycle, the Shuar language was used to the exclusion of Spanish.[10] From the second cycle on, texts are written in both Shuar (on the right pages) and Spanish (on the left). In the third cycle, discussions were conducted in the language that the readings were not done in. This serves to create neologisms and pushes the topical domain boundaries of the language (Puwáinchir Wajárai, 1989).

The Shuar program is the oldest, largest, and the most well-known Indian controlled program; but others also exist.[11]. Inspired by the Shuar, and motivated by its own needs, Quichua in the providence of Bolivar formed their own schools in 1972 (Caiza, 1989). The organization that developed around these schools came to be known as *Fundacion Runacunapac Yachana Huasi* (FRYA). The objectives of the foundation are: (1) unity of the indigenous and Meztizo population, (2) recuperation of ancestral territory, (3) recuperation of cultural identity and traditional means of self-government, and (4) solidarity with other groups working for autonomous political autonomy. As of 1989 there were seventeen schools, thirty teachers, and more than 600 children involved with the program (Caiza, 1989).

These objectives carried over into the Quichua bilingual schools, which are designed to (1) educate the children to remain with family, community and organization, (2) teach primarily in Quichua with Spanish taught as a second language, (3) strengthen the organization, and (4) enrich cultural identity. Material and curriculum development is also a central concern of FRYA (1989).

Concerning the ultimate purpose of the schooling, the state and the Indian programs operate from fundamentally different positions. Critics of the traditional government schools maintain that they serve to reproduce the social and economic structure, providing inadequate education which also devalues Indian life and encourages assimilation and integration (Cotacachi, 1989; Chuquin, 1984; Puwáinchir Wajárai, 1989). indigenous persons argue that they should be the only ones who teach their children and administer their schools (Cotacachi, 1989; Puwáinchir Wajárai, 1989). The state contends that the programs need to be regulated, and believes that the Indian population lacks the skills needed to run their own programs (Abram, 1989).[12] They maintain that if any state funds are used, the state should retain ultimate administrative authority.

The Indian population, through its organizations, has demonstrated that, in the words of one indigenous woman, "(we) no longer want to be the fruit of investigations and experiments, rather we want to be the actors and executors of a bilingual education that includes our historical reality, designed and controlled by us" (Cotacachi, 1989: 263). Seeking to incorporate marginal groups into the national culture and economy, from the Ecuadorian state's perspective, the Indian controlled programs are threatening and appear as demands for both internal and external autonomy.[13]

The academic impact and effectiveness of programs such as those run by the Shuar and FRYA is difficult to assess. However, the continued demand for these programs is a powerful (and reliable) indicator of their success within the communities. The social impact has been substantial inside the Indian community and in the national context. Many of the children that have participated in these initial programs have become the bilingual school teachers, Indian intelligentsia, and consciousness raisers of the present (Selverston, 1993; personal communication). The programs continue to be an important part of the creation of the present body of ethnically politicized Indians. The schools stand as continual reminders of the existence of Indian cultures and languages and also as testimony to Indian power to organize, teach, and administer their own programs (Moya, 1991). The schools have served as powerful tools for the Indian people; aside from the potential for real pedagogical improvement and linguist impact, the schools are rallying points for groups and have galvanized Indian movements to make demands outside the community.

Compromises, Concessions, and Change

The dialogue between the state and the nation has intensified over the last 30 years. The "political space" available to Indian organizations has grown and bargaining position of such groups has strengthened considerably (Selverston, 1993). As a result of the increasing pressure on the state, some significant policy changes have taken place at the national level.

The creation of *Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe* (DINEIIB) is one example of how official policy regarding indigenous languages' functional and formal roles have been altered. DINEIIB was officially established on November 9, 1988. Prior to the decision to create an agency specifically designed to administer bilingual education programs, related legislative measures had been passed. In 1982, Ministerial Accord No. 0005229 officialized bilingual, bicultural education in zones of primary Indian populations for first and middle schools, so that instruction would be in the Indian language(s) and Spanish. In 1983, the constitution was revised; included in the new version was a provision that in the Indian zones the principal language of education would be Quichua or the vernacular language, and Spanish would be used as the language of intercultural relations. However, little was done to implement these two measures. The lack of accord between official policy and educational and practice was repeatedly brought to public attention by CONAIE and other groups. DINEIIB was established, in part, as a compromise to CONAIE in 1989.

Moya (1988) has argued that the creation of DINEIIB was not a free choice made by the government out of concern for the indigenous population, but rather, it was the only viable political response. CONAIE, by the late 1980's carried enough political weight to alter national policy. She points out that it is significant that word Indian comes before bilingual or inter cultural in the agency's title.[14]

DINEIIB officials, on the other hand, claim that the bilingual education programs earlier in the decade demonstrated that Indian languages have the capacity to express technical and abstract concepts (Abram, 1991; Moya, 1991). State rhetoric around the creation of DINEIIB promotes bilingual educational as a necessary part of the national development plan and as an instrument to assist in the preservation of the cultural patrimony of the nation (Moya, 1991).

Codification of the decision to create the agency was concise. DINEIIB was established to guarantee the unity, quality, and efficiency of Indian education (DINEIIB, 1991). The elaboration of the decision, however, was lengthy and not entirely clear. A series of statements outline the state's general and specific plans to develop an educational system in agreement with social, cultural, linguistic, and economic reality, and in accordance with the needs and expectations of the Indian nationalities for the development of an intercultural Ecuador.[15]

One year after the creation of the agency an agreement of technical cooperation was signed between CONAIE and the Ministry of Education and Culture. CONAIE representatives were to be given positions within DINEIIB and were placed in charge of some aspects of the program, such as curricula development. Implementation was slow initially, but by the 1990-91 school year, DINEIIB programs were in operation in 600 schools (DINEIIB, 1991). Content instruction in Quichua was available at first grade level. Plans were to increase the program by one grade level every year.

When DINEIIB was established, all bilingual education programs fell under its jurisdiction. The most notable of these is *Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural* (PEBI). This experimental program, initiated in late 1984, is the result of a joint agreement between the Ecuador's Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ). As of 1989, the project was active in eight provinces in the Sierra with seventy-five schools in the first and second grades and 135 participating teachers (Cotacachi, 1989). In these schools Quichua is used as the language of instruction and Spanish is taught as a second language. The program, according to PEBI officials, has been widely successful.

Both the rhetoric surrounding these programs and evaluations of them have been highly politicized and difficult to assess. Numerous critiques of PEBI have been delivered. Cotacachi (1989) cites PEBI's failure to (1) to sway higher administration to be true supporters of the project, (2) end the experimental phase of the program, (3) pass legislative measures to improve bilingual education, and (4) to win support for the program at the national level. While her claims are not entirely fair,[16] indigenous people have good reason to be skeptical of the government's capacity to administer a program which could reflect their interest and realities. It has also been reported that in the PEBI schools only some of the teachers are bilingual and many are unwilling to impart bilingual education (Moya, 1991). DINEIIB has also been subject to numerous criticisms. Not all DINEIIB schools have bilingual teachers, nor are all the indigenous teachers bilinguals, nor do they use bilingual educational materials or methods (Moya, 1991).

While there is likely to be an enormous amount of variability from school to school, and there are numerous and significant practical problems to be resolved, of importance here is the dramatic shift in policy. Recognition of the diversity of the nation-state is an important first step (as well as being CONAIE's top demand).[17] The Indian organizations can count the creation of an agency dedicated to Indian cultural maintenance and educational needs as a major success.

Conclusion

Language planning most frequently occurs in the midst of social change. The Ecuadorian case is no exception. As social, political, and economic forces converged and interacted in the sixties and seventies, ethnically based social movements became a national force in Ecuador. A social movement is a "sustained series of interactions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course of which those persons make publicly visible demands for support for changes in the distribution or exercise of power, and back those demands with public demonstrations of support" (Tilly, 1984:306). As the "political discourses increasingly address indigenous peasants as national subjects," the most powerful social movements to have emerged in recent times have been those based on ethnicity (Crain, 1990:40). Ethnicity has defined the dialogue and at the same time been a powerful lever in the discourse.

Demands for access to public goods, which are based on ethnicity, hold a unique bargaining position. A land claim, for example, made by Huaorani Indians demanding their ancestral heritage differs considerably from that made by poor peasants seeking to better their economic position (Bernard, 1993). Similarly, on a more abstract level, demonstration for agrarian autonomy and land rights with 'bows and arrows' (or an Indian language) holds a "symbolic efficacy" absent from the demonstrations of rural peasants (Urban, 1993).

Language acts as an important tool in this exchange. Symbolically, language serves as a constant reminder of indigenous resistance to Hispanic rule and commitment to cultural maintenance. Practically, acquisition planning has been the means by which both the government and Indian groups have advanced their agendas. Language planning has been a tool in the ethnic discourse and political struggle over indigenous rights and the nature of the Ecuadorian nation-state.

Quichua language planners are teachers, educators, literacy activists, radio announcers, and all speakers who bring the language into previously untreaded communication fronts (Fauchois, 1988), and significant language planning occurs at the local and grass-roots level. These individuals are key players in the Ecuadorian language planning case. Important efforts such as these should be included in any language planning framework.[18]

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[1] The usage of "Indian" originates, of course, with Columbus's great mistake. It has since been adapted to refer to all indigenous people of the Americas. While in the majority culture the sense of the term is generally derogatory, among indigenous peoples it has come to be a source of pride and unity among the many different nationalities. In this paper both "Indian" and "indigenous" will be used.

[2] While prior movements were founded on political liberalism, stressing voluntary association, or Marxism, oriented around class conflict and structural reform, the mobilization of groups in recent decades has been based on ethnic identification.

[3] See Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983) for a discussion of this process.

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[4] Chapters eight and nine of Spalding's *Huarochiri: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* provide an excellent review of Indian resistance (1974).

[5] The most recent and dramatic instance was the week-long Indian uprising of June, 1990.

[6] An example of a language planning measure with semi-linguistic aims is the restriction placed on domains in which Quichua is spoken (i.e. all government business is conducted in Spanish). The 1980 conference on the Quichua corpus is an example of planning with structural (linguistic) aims.

[7] Acquisition planning can address policy planning (language's formal role within society) and cultivation planning (language's functional role within society) (Hornberger, 1993).

[8] The organizations purposely refer to themselves as distinct Indian nationalities and nations, emphasizing their great historic past as well as the diversity of the indigenous population.

[9] As Abram (1989) has pointed out, not only is the concept of and possibility of using Indian languages in public domains absent from most discussions, it is unknown to most Ecuadorians.

[10] Rather than refer to hierarchical "grades," the levels are differentiated as "*ciclos*."

[11] The *Programa Alternativo de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural* (PAEBIC) of the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonia Ecuadoriana* (CONFENIAE), for example, has been in operation for decades (Ruiz, 1989).

[12] This is despite the fact that the Indian schools have been in operation for decades, and the considerable evidence that traditional schools have been less than successful.

[13] Internal autonomy demands include the rights to preserve a group's language and culture, control its schools and develop its land; external autonomy demands seek succession and altered geographic and demographic borders.

[14] *Dirección Nacional de Educacivn Indígena Intercultural* (National Directorate of Indigenous Intercultural Education).

[15] While DINEIIB policy papers appear promising, it should be noted that the government is notorious for making grand promises, which are frequently left unfulfilled. For example, the 800 million sucres promised to bilingual, bicultural education for 1989 and the 2,800 million sucres for 1990, never arrived (Selverston, 1993).

[16] For example, PEBI has published numerous books and pamphlets detailing the philosophy behind and the benefits of bilingual education. One organization certainly cannot be charged with responsibility for swaying the entire nation's opinion.

[17] According to the list of demands presented by CONAIE to the government during the 1990 uprising.

[18] A version of this paper was originally written for Nancy Hornberger's class (ED 927), Spring '93.

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"Yes I think it's you": A discussion of intercultural communication

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This paper examines a cross-cultural service encounter; specifically an office interaction between an American office worker and an international student at an intensive English program, (IEP) and demonstrates how differences in social and grammatical constructions led to miscommunication. In addition, data from a (IEP) student questionnaire on interaction styles, and data from interviews with some of the (IEP) students, exemplify the many issues of assumptions and expectations in all kinds of cross-cultural interactions and indicate that greater understanding of diverse interaction styles is necessary to avoid miscommunication.

Service encounters, such as seeking information at an information desk, doctor visits, banking, etc., are one domain where effectiveness is critical for successful problem-solving. Interactions involving speakers of different cultural backgrounds increase the possibility of miscommunication. An intensive English language program at a university in Philadelphia has many such encounters involving office support staff and international students. By examining the interlocutors' social and grammatical constructions, we can analyze how communication breakdown occurs and learn how to better facilitate information transmission.

The purpose of the present study is 1) to examine the office interaction at an intensive English language program as an example of service encounters involving differing communication methods, and, 2) to investigate how the interlocutors' choice of contextualization cues frames an interaction. Within the context of interaction style, the following issues are discussed:

1) grammatical constructions
2) frames
3) group dynamics

These aspects of language competency–grammar constructions, frames, and group amics–are important to consider when addressing strategies for better intercultural communication in service encounters as well as for promoting cooperation and understanding in an intercultural education setting.

Methods

Setting

The site of the current study is an intensive English language program (here referred to as IEP) at a university. The program is in its fourth year of operation and is expanding rapidly. To maintain fulltime student visa status, students are required to take at least eighteen hours of classes consisting of spoken and written skills as well as a choice of electives (i.e. grammar, conversation, academic reading/writing). At the beginning of each 11-week session there is a 3-day orientation program. During this time, students are tested on their speaking and writing skills and appropriately placed in one of the six levels offered. Students are also given information on such issues as elective choices, activities, personal safety, health insurance, housing, banking, the university, and the city of Philadelphia.

IEP occupies several rooms in the basement of one of the university's academic buildings. The main office is small, 10' X 12', and is the center of much activity. Two staff members and numerous international students can usually be found in the office throughout the day.

The personnel at IEP consists of the Director and the Associate Director, both of whom have doctoral degrees; 3 full-time teachers, each with a minimum of a master's degree; and approximately 20 part-time teachers, all of whom have a master's degree in ESL, linguistics, or related fields. The Activity Coordinators and the office support staff are graduate students in either Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) or Intercultural Communication (ICC).

The program is technically a part of the university's Department of Humanities and Communications. Despite this, the students are limited in their participation as full-time students. For example, the IEP students may use their identification cards for entry into the University's recreation areas and computing center, but they are denied book-borrowing privileges and access to the computer data-base.

Participants

This study focuses on international students and four members of the IEP office support staff who are pre-professionals in the fields of TESOL and ICC. The staff are all part-time employees, teaching at least one elective and working an average of 20 hours a week in the main office. The office staff duties include assisting the students with admission, housing, health insurance, payment, class conflicts, and activity participation. These staff members are given little or no training in dealing with international students.

The international students range in age from 18-30 years old and are students and professionals from a vast array of countries, the principles being Taiwan, People's Republic of China, South Korea, Japan, Spain, Italy, Thailand, Peru, Colombia, and Kuwait. The IEP students have diverse motivations for learning English. Many of them intend to enroll in a North American undergraduate or graduate degree program, while others want to broaden their opportunities in their own country. Still other students have moved to the United States with a spouse and want to study English for basic survival or to "have something to do," as they are not allowed to be employed as non-US citizens.

The researchers were members of the part time office staff at the time of this study. In this capacity, they acted as participant observers and collected data in which they themselves took part. This allowed them to "be able to enter speech events relatively unobtrusively" (Hymes, 1972:120). While this approach could bias the data collection and analysis, the researchers' extensive role in the study's setting allowed for more candid responses from the students and a more comprehensive understanding of the assumptions and expectations of the IEP employees.

Collection Methods

After receiving permission and support from the IEP Director and Associate Director, the researchers used an ethnographic approach by collecting data from audiotaped interactions, interviews, and questionnaires. This process of multiple methods of inquiry, or triangulation, is used to confirm or disconfirm results of each of the other data samples.

Sessions of an average of 90 minutes were tape-recorded in the main office. The researchers were looking for naturally-occurring speech between international students and office support staff. Samples of natural occurring speech are critical for a better understanding of what in fact is happening in a spontaneous, uncontrolled setting. Once the researchers identified critical incidents, incidents during which there was a communication breakdown seemingly due to grammatical construction and framing, permission was sought to use the recorded data.[1]

The questionnaire (Appendix A) was distributed to all enrolled students (150) with the students' permission to use the anonymous responses for research purposes. Biographical information regarding age, sex, and native language was collected. Various possible interactions were presented such as "I prefer to have my questions resolved in person," and, "If I didn't understand an answer I would ask/try again." The students were then asked to rate their experiences interacting with the IEP staff, teachers, and administrators. Finally open-ended questions allowed the students an opportunity to express their thoughts on how the IEP may be different than a university in their home country and how the IEP could improve its services.

Ten students were interviewed, each of whom were enrolled in the researchers' classes and had volunteered to be interviewed regarding their impression of IEP.[2] Open-ended questions such as "How would you describe (IEP) to a friend?" were asked of the participants to allow for a closer representation of the student's experiences and less of the researchers' assumptions (see Gumperz, 1982).

Analysis Methods

Upon reviewing the taped conversations, the investigators selected one interaction and analyzed it to investigate how the interlocutors choice of contextualization cues frames an interaction. This interaction was the primary source of data for interpretation. By color-coding the transcription for structural contextualization cues used by the participants, patterns emerged from the data; these patterns illustrate the participants' interaction styles. The speakers' intonation patterns recorded by the researcher involved were noted during the transcription of the speech event.

Supporting and counter examples of the primary data were found by using the information collected from the questionnaires and the interviews. The questionnaire included 22 statements that the researchers believed to be relevant to the students' expectations of communication with the IEP staff. The students were asked to rate the statements on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). In addition they were asked five free-response questions (Appendix A: questions 23-27) about their experiences and recommendations. Of the 150 questionnaires distributed by the students primary classroom teachers, 54 (36%) were collected. The students' responses to questions 1-22 were averaged; the answers were then categorized by the overall mean score and by the respondents' self-reported native languages (Appendix B). The researchers interviewed ten volunteer students on an individual basis, each for approximately 15-20 minutes. The interviews were then transcribed and reviewed for further insight into IEP students' expectations. Through this ethnographic approach, the researchers were able to gather personal and detailed information about the student community's perspective.

Findings

One particular interaction from the taped conversations was selected as a critical incident for the research due to the office staff member's[3] report of feeling frustrated and angry at the termination of the interaction. The participants in this interaction were a 24-year-old female native English-speaking staff member (O) and a 21-year-old female native

Korean-speaking student (S). The student had just arrived at the university and came to the Director for help. The Director in turn referred her to O. In the analysis of the transcript, several characteristics of conflicting grammatical construction and frames were identified as lending to the difficulties between the interlocutors.

Grammatical Construction

The relationship between form and function is demonstrated by the influence of a speaker's word choice on a speech event (Austin, 1975). The researchers perceived that this particular speech event had, in fact, two significant parts. (See Appendix C for a full transcript.)

S: I need registration
O: right, but you filled you the application form right?
S: yeah
O: and so now you need to take a test
S: Yeah I took, took...
O: you took a test... ok so you're ju-
you're not sure now what you're suppose to do is that it?
S: y-
O: or you're not sure of
your classes?
S: Yeah I didn't know registration means so
O: OH registration just meant to fill out
an application and pay tuition and ....
S: when I pay tuition
O: Okay, as soon as possible
S: Where? ((laugh))
O: here=
S: okay
O: =everything is here=
S: okay
O: =and whenever you have any questions come here I'll try to help you
S: uhh...
O: oh that's ok
S: I can't.... Can I check ((unintelligible))..I'm not sure ((laugh))
O: So you're not sure of your classes, or what, ok, did you register
for second half starting today or second half
S: yes second half...somebody made a mistake
so I start second half but they send me mail in the letter full time
O:Ok so lets just check I ok, What is your family name?
S: J_
O: J-- ((spells))..((checks in the computer))..., and is it umm..wait lets try it
again and your first name
S: Y-K- ((spells))
((Administrator interrupts))
O: okay, and this is your mailing address=
S: yes
O:=and we have you full time and you are second half, right?
S: yeah
O: and so you are second half fall term full time
S: yes full time
O: okay second half and so... your bill will be different then. di- did
you? umm Your bill is $950
S: $950?

44 O: right, ok
45 S: Can I pay now?
46 O: Sure, that would be wonderful okay
((Administrator interrupts))
47 S: do check?
48 O: uhuh. Do you need a pen?
49 S: N-no. I don't have know who
50 O: Oh D- University
51 S: oh
52 O: I can put it there..((fills out check)). okay let me give you a receipt ((long
53. pause)) okay, you're all set....okay.
54 S: umm.. somebody called me,hmm she need some letters. like things like

In the first part (lines 1 through 54), the interaction begins with O making a guess about the student's needs. The linguistic form that O chooses is based on her presupposing the object of the student's questions. For example, her intonation often lacks the rising usually employed in questions, thus making questions appear to be more like statements: evidence that she just wants verification for her assumptions is her excessive use of "right" and "okay" (Gumperz, 1982:131).

Other contextualization cues include O's use of shifters and pronouns, which dramatically demonstrate her assuming control of the situation. O focuses her attention on getting S to do something. This is evidenced by her use of shifters like "this" and definite article "the" which anchor the individual items to the speech event (Silverstein, 1976; Jakobson, 1971) as in the following lines

2. O: right, but you filled out the application form right?
6. O: you took the test..so you're ju-
35. O: okay and this is your mailing address
64. O: was it in this office
79. O: If you want to change to an F-1 visa, which you do...then you need the bank statement

O has an additional four instances of using the connotative function in the following:

12. O: OH registration just meant to fill out
15. O: okay, as soon as possible
19. O: =everything is here=lines
21. O: =and whenever you have any questions come here and I'll try to help you

Gumperz (1982) points out that the framing of a situation is made by the pronoun choices of the participants by indexing, in effect pointing out, the focus of the interaction. Therefore, it is critical to analyze the use of pronouns by the different participants to understand what each is focusing on in the interaction. Pronoun usage to this point in the interaction can be broken down as in Table 1.

Table 1: Pronoun usage lines 1-21

	I	me	you(re)	your	we	(let) us
S:	13	1	0	0	0	0
O:	2	1	18	8	1	3

Jakobson's (1971) discussion demonstrates how O's use of the pronoun "you" reveals her emphasis on getting the student to do something, as in this example:

9. O: or you're not sure of
10. your classes?
11 S: Yeah I didn't know registration means so
12 O: OH registration just meant to fill out
13. an application and pay tuition and ....

On the other hand, S uses such strategies as reference to the third person and accepting her positioning as the power inferior in this interaction (see Davies & Harre, in press).

53. pause)) okay, you're all set....okay.
54 S: umm.. somebody called me,hmm she need some letters. like things like
55 bank statement or

The researchers found it most interesting that the student's intent is not known until more than half way through the interaction. In line 53, O's intonation, and the tone of dismissal infer the completion of the interaction. However, S asserts that there is in fact more information needed.

52 O: I can put it there..((fills out check)). okay let me give you a receipt ((long
53. pause)) okay, you're all set....okay.
54 S: umm.. somebody called me,hmm she need some letters. like things like
55 bank state ment or
56 O: Oh. Let me see.. um well... what kind of visa do you have?
58* S: B-2
59 O: B-2 do you want to change to a=
60. S: yes
61. O: =you want to change to an F-1. Did you give us
62 a bank statement and..
63 S: I, I gave someone, but she she told me she didn't need it
64 O: was it in this office?
65 S: Yes, I think it's you

*Due to an error in the origianl transcript, line 57 is missing.

A dramatic shift in structural usage is apparent in line 54 and culminates in line 65. Suddenly S shifts away from indirect, self-referential speech and re-positions both participants (Goffman, 1981; Davies & Harre, in press). In the last line of the above excerpt, both interlocutors demonstrate the focus on the context by indirect and abstract references:

63. O: was it in this office?
64. S: Yes, I think it's you

However, S changes the focus by answering "Yes, I think it's you," whereby she indexes O as the responsible party. Her use of a hedging technique, "I think," distances her from the statement (Goffman, 1981:148), but the footing has none-the-less changed S's context focus so that it is entirely on O.

O's confusion at the sudden reversal of the positioning is evident in the subsequent pauses, pitch levels, and discernible stress in her voice (self-reported during transcription) and one of her only uses of the pronoun "I."

Frames

Any interaction is framed by the knowledge the speakers bring to the present speech situation, in particular their interpretations of the context based on previous experience. As Wolfson points out, gender, age, relative status, and often socioeconomic status of the interlocutors influence language choices and patterns (1989:74). This process is quite dynamic because each speech situation is continuously reevaluated and reinterpreted by the interlocutors (Goffman, 1974; Fairclough, 1989).

O demonstrates her assumed power of authority verbally. Although each participant has an almost equal number of turns (S=41, O=41), O talks 70% of the time during the recorded interaction and O interrupts S 12 times. With each interruption O is successful in securing the floor, or the dominant position, as described by Edelsky (1981). On the other hand, S interrupts four times, but only once is she successful in taking the floor.

25 O: So you're not sure of your classes, or what, ok, did you register
26 for second half starting today or second half
27 S: yes second half...somebody made a mistake
28 so I start second half but they send me mail in the letter full time

This example is unique in the student keeping the floor after interrupting the staff member. Ervin-Tripp (1972) outlines several linguistic rules based on social variables which can be used to examine the present interaction. First, through line 54, the Rules of Alternation were followed: both S and O "no-named" each other and, instead of using individual names, consistently used "I" and "you," respectively. Second, following the Rules of Co-Occurrence, both participants used an informal style of talking: S with indirect speech, O with a more direct form. Third, the speech event was internally consistent, as the Rules of Coherence apply to intonation; for example, S's tone implied insecurity and questioning as appropriate to the information-seeking event, while O was more authoritative in tone.

These rules were violated by S when she states, "Yes I think it's you." She switches from indirect speech to a direct reference to O, even in replying to the indirect question asked of her as demonstrated below:

61. O: =you want to change to an F-1. Did you give us
62 a bank statement and..
63 S: I, I gave someone, but she she told me she didn't need it
64 O: was it in this office?
65 S: Yes, I think it's you

Third, S changes her tone to one of accusation. Upon reflection these violations were determined to be the cause of O's confessed interpretation of the student being rude (Gumperz, 1982:132). The rest of the interaction is characterized by increased rate of O's speech, signaling stress, by direct statements rather than questions, signaling inducement, and by the use of performative words such as "need" (Austin, 1975) signaling persuasion (see Hymes, 1974:22). In addition there is a small but significant change in pronoun usage by both participants in lines 54-91: the use of "you" is increased by S, decreased by O; conversely, the use of "I" is increased by O, decreased by S (Table 2).

Table 2: Pronoun usage lines 54-91

	I	me	my	you(re)	your	she	we	(let)us	they
S:	10	3	3	3	0	3	0	0	1
O:	3	1	0	13	3	0	2	1	1

In overview, O's strategies are to take control of the situation. She presupposes (Silverstein, 1976) that she understands S's problems. It became evident upon reflection by O as a participant-observer that she, in fact, did not understand what the student had wanted. O continually interrupts (12 times), uses the imperative function to persuade S to do something (Hymes, 1974), and takes away from S any psychological power. Prosodic features, such as her lack of rising intonation for many of her questions, are also evident. Tense-markers and shifters reinforce the indexing O uses (Jakobson, 1971) as well as the resulting positioning of S as inferior to O's authority (Davies & Harre, in press).

Interactions are also influenced by a speaker's mindset, or schema, which is less dynamic than a frame and which is determined by a merging of one's "cultural baggage."(Fisher, 1988). These cultural, or psychocultural, aspects of schema are described by Fisher's five categories: Situation and Context, Knowledge and Information Base, Image, Cultural and Social Determinants, Individual Personality and Group

Dynamics (Fisher, 1988). Based on the investigators' cultural knowledge of power relations in an information-seeking encounter and on comments made in the student interviews, it is impressive that S reattempts to get what she wants although O makes it clear in line 54 that the transaction has been completed.

Group Dynamics

We have illustrated the relationships between form and function, between an individual's present and past experiences, and between language and culture. These relationships influence interactions at the dialogue level between participants, as we hope to have demonstrated in the above transcript analysis. In addition, it is apparent that an individual's interaction style affects what is understood by the participating interlocutor. It is important to recognize that these relationships affect group dynamics as well. We will now move away from an isolated interaction interpreted at the micro-level to a bigger picture of what is occurring at IEP at the macro-level. The comments from the questionnaires and interviews indicate how styles and frames relate to group dynamics.

The students averaged a response to question 16 of 3.78 on a scale of 1 to 5 strongly agreeing that the IEP staff service was good. Several remarks reoccurred throughout the data, including "more staff needed," "should talk slowly and clearly," "more patience needed," "staff too busy," and "need more opportunity to speak with staff." Some students indicated that they did not interact with the staff at all, some specifically citing anxiety and frustration. However, 100% of the interviewed students stated that if they did not understand an answer they would ask or try again; the questionnaire response was 3.33 strongly agree (question 20). This is consistent with the findings of the discourse analysis of the taped interaction.

Since an overwhelming average of 4.14 (strongly agree) prefer to have questions resolved in person (question 5), these student concerns must be considered. Another concern expressed on the questionnaire was how IEP students relate to the university as a whole. Two specific problematic areas emerged from our collected data: 1) lack of validity on campus, and 2) ignorance of special needs of IEP students. As one student observed, "(IEP) office is smaller and it's not a 'real' department of the university, e.g. we are not (university) students."

Another student said during an interview that "the (IEP) staff is more patient than other people" and related her frustration in dealing with the campus bookstore staff. The student felt "unsatisfied with their service" because "they don't understand my English or they don't like my pronunciation." Students average a 3.48 (strongly agree) that they feel more comfortable asking questions to other (IEP) students (question 18). Indeed, a past student worker reflected on the numerous times fellow students approached him with questions before going to the office staff.

In both the interviews and the questionnaires, many suggestions were made by the students regarding social and scholastic life at IEP. "Why doesn't (IEP) have a language laboratory?" was echoed by several students as well as a concern about the lack of ESL library books and audiotapes. The large classes and the perceived range of abilities within each level was criticized by at least 10% of the participating students, and a few wanted to change the "too early" or "too short" class periods. These last points are mute because there will always be unsatisfied students and logistic constraints on programs. The other suggestions are useful as a foundation for legitimizing further expansion of IEP. The most important part of group dynamics in a program such as IEP is the *esprit de corps*, or group fellowship and spirit.

This can be developed and fostered by, as one students suggested, "hold[ing]more activities to increase the interaction and communication between teachers and students, or between students and students."

Several of the comments indicated to the researchers that more group interaction is seriously needed to develop cross-cultural awareness among the students themselves. Exemplifying this need is students' judgments that "the Asian people [are] very quiet...need a push. [They] drag down the class, they don't work hard." Active and aggressive community building within IEP is necessary to help eliminate these attitudes.

Discussion

Recommendations

In response to these comments, we recommend a training session to increase the staff members' power of observation and make them better aware of culturally-channeled outlooks (Fisher, 1988). Special attention should be focused on the importance of slow speech, repetition, and increased wait time, i.e. giving students more time to express themselves. Staff members, teachers, and administrators must address these issues from the onset of the session. Winskowski-Jackson points out, "orientation is likely to be the first form of official welcome and introduction an international student receives from an institution" (1991:105). She adds that "the information and activities that help people in a foreign environment gain control of and familiarity with their schedule and with the environment are those that minimize initial culture shock" (105).

Student feedback in the interviews and questionnaires suggests that in fact most, if not all, information is lost during the initial orientation period because of anxiety, language insecurity, etc. Although it is difficult to pursue the recommendation made by a few students to offer the new information in each of the students' native languages, it is possible and fitting to attend to their wish "to make interview with each student at the end of the month." This follow-up interview would benefit both IEP staff and students by verifying the students' assimilation into the new environment and would cover issues of health insurance, visas, tuition, housing and classes.

In addition, written materials should be made available to students to consult on their time (and at their own pace) covering all aspects of life at a university in a North American city like Philadelphia. Not only would this encourage the students to interact with the office staff and administrators, but it would empower them by giving the means to try to solve their own problems, which in turn may make them more confident when asking any remaining questions they have. In addition to the selfhelp manual, an IEP student should be trained to serve as a liaison between the students and the office staff members.

Because of the enormous and difficult task of educating all university staff members of the special needs of international students, and the impracticality of doing so in a small group situation, strategic competence should be heavily stressed in the students' course work (Canale & Swain, 1980). This can help IEP students "to cope with or remedy breakdowns in communication which result from lack of proficiency in the language" (Canale & Swain, 1980). As one student eloquently put it, IEP should "...design more basic situation conversation courses to help the foreign students to be more comfortable and convenient in America." However, more sensitivity training is still needed to bring multicultural issues to the forefront of staff awareness throughout the university.

One way to promote student recognition and validity on campus is to actively involve the IEP students with the rest of the student body. IEP activities should center around the sports, music, and other entertainment events sponsored by the University at large. Other ideas can be generated from one student's suggestion that "(IEP) can offer one-by-one, (sic) for example: one native student and foreign student live together all day for one month." We would recommend allowing IEP students to attend classes with American students at least one day of the term.

To promote good fellowship and spirit one recommendation is to create a student center, a room solely for social interaction. Individual student mailboxes would promote a sense of belonging as well as encourage communication among the students by facilitating easy access to their peers. A large, highly visible bulletin board should post city and campus events as well as information on roommates, ride shares, student birthdays, etc. The student handbook, self-help manual previously mentioned, and a suggestion box should be available in this center. The student center would be an ideal location for a daily coffee hour which would provide an opportunity for the students, teachers, office staff and administrators to relax and converse in an informal environment. If highly organized and well-promoted, this would be a enjoyable and educating experience for all members of the IEP community group.

Limitations of the Study

After reviewing the data collection and methods of analysis, several areas of improvement have been identified. First of all, the questionnaire is too long. It took the IEP students approximately 20 minutes to complete and was difficult for many of them to understand. This could explain why many of the questionnaires were not returned. Although we were pleased with the 36% that were returned, more would have provided further insight. The students often had difficulty with the rating system; although it is common in the United States, it is not a familiar procedure in other countries. It seems that this type of data collection is too culture-specific.

Secondly, the interviews were too long: the open-ended questions may have been broad to excess. Although we collected information that was both interesting and helpful in making general suggestions for the program overall, the information was not specific enough for an analysis of communication breakdown.

Thirdly, several aspects of the interaction collection and analysis have been identified as problematic. Primarily, the excessive participation of the researchers leads to questions of the objectivity of this particular study. It was unavoidable that the critical incidents were identified by the researchers themselves because they were often the taped individuals. To be truly effective, the findings of such a study should be presented to the administrators and other staff members for confirmation of findings and feedback to be formally included in the written presentation (Ulichny, 1991)

Conclusion

The above analysis of an inter-ethnic service encounter is representative of what Erickson and Shultz (1982) refer to as a gatekeeping situation, where one of the participants has the power to give or deny access to information. Our ensuing discussion of interview and questionnaire data demonstrates the many issues of assumptions and expectations in all kinds of cross-cultural interactions. By examining the grammatical constructions, frames, and group dynamics of American office workers and international students at an intensive English language program, it is apparent that greater understanding of diverse interaction styles is necessary and that a lack of such an understanding will result in the increased possibility of miscommunication.

In addition, the study seems to show how small scale research projects within an institution can result in implementation of recommendations for change. Following a presentation of a draft of this paper, the following proposals were implemented at the IEP: student interviews, an international coffee hour, increased activities (i.e. sports), a student handbook, and a bulletin board for announcements.[4]

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[1] If the researchers could not obtain permission to use the recorded data, the data was discarded.

[2] The students who were interviewed also gave the researcher prior permission to use the data collected.

[3] This office staff member was also one of the reseachers.

[4] This paper was originally written for ED 673, Intercultural Communication, Fall term, 1992 with Rebecca Freeman.

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Appendix A

M_____F_____ IEP level (please circle): 1 2 3 4 5 6 Elective only
Country of origin __________________________ Native language______________

Please rate your opinion using the scale 1 (strongly agree), to 3 (agree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Please use the space available to make any comments or suggestions.

1 Good interaction is defined as when the speaker's message is correctly responded to by the listener.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

2 I have had good interaction with the IEP office staff.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

3 I have had good interaction with the IEP teachers.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

4 I have had good interaction with the IEP administrators
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

5 I prefer to present my questions in person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

6 I prefer to present my question in writing
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

7 I prefer to present my questions over the telephone.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

8 I prefer to have my questions resolved in person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

9 I prefer to have my questions resolved in writing.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

10 I prefer to have my questions resolved over the telephone.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

11 If I had a personal problem (non-IEP) I would go to my teachers(s).
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

12 If I had a personal problem (non-IEP) I would go to the office staff.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

13 If I had a personal problem (non-IEP) I would go to the administrators.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

14 I have already had difficulties with (check all that apply)

_____health insurance
_____activity sing-up
_____visa
_____tuition
_____housing
_____IEP trips
_____class enrollment
_____admission
_____other ____________

15 I presented my difficulty to the IEP staff (please circle) YES NO
If NO, why not?

16 The help I have received from the IEP staff has been good.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

17 I would go to IEP staff again. YES NO Why not?

18 I feel more comfortable asking questions to other students.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

19 The office staff service is helpful.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

20 If I didn't understand an answer I would ask/try again.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

21 If I was not happy with the IEP office staff's help I would say so.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

22 The IEP office is similar to a university office in my home country.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly agree

23 Interaction fails when: (please fill in the blank)

24 What can the IEP office staff do to help serve you better?

25 What are the differences between the IEP office and a university office in your home country?

26 How would you describe the IEP office staff?

27 Please add any other comments or suggestions.

Appendix B: Questionnaire Responses

Question #	French	Indonesian	Chinese	Thai	Korean	Spanish	Japanese	Arabic	Persian	Total %
1	3	3	4.19	4.43	3.29	3.5	3.89	3.67	4	3.66
2	3	4	2.72	3.29	3.00	4.0	3.33	4.16	4	3.57
3	4	4	3.72	3.29	3.50	4.0	4.00	4.40	4	3.05
4	3	4	2.54	2.83	2.71	3.6	3.00	2.67		2.32
5	4	3	3.81	4.00	3.25	3.6	3.44	4.33	5	2.89
6	2	2	3.63	2.86	2.13	2.3	2.67	1.83	1	1.89
7	3	2	2.37	1.71	2.38	1.6	1.89	1.83	1	1.37
8	4	4	3.81	4.43	3.13	4.5	3.89	4.50	5	4.14
9	4	2	2.54	3.43	2.50	2.7	2.30	2.83	1	1.97
10	3	2	2.54	1.29	2.43	2.0	2.22	2.50	3	2.69
11	5	1	2.81	3.14	3.0	2.7	3.00	4.00	4	2.73
12	3	1	3.46	2.29	2.57	2.3	2.11	2.83	1	2.41
13	3	4	2.28	2.57	2.67	1.7	2.66	2.75		2.32
14										
15										
16	3	5	3.45	4.00	3.29	3.75	3.75	3.80	4	3.78
17										
18	3	4	3.37	3.71	3.71	2.1	3.78	2.67	5	2.73
19	3	4	3.91	3.71	3.43	3.5	3.70	3.50	5	3.75
20	4	5	3.91	4.29	4.14	4.3	4.30	4.17	4	3.33
21	4	4	2.72	2.43	3.29	3.0	3.20	3.00		3.29
22	3	3	2.00	2.29	2.86	2.7	2.38	2.20	4	2.50

Appendix C: Transcript

S: I need registration
O: right, but you filled you the application form right?
S: yeah
O: and so now you need to take a test
S: Yeah I took, took...
O: you took a test... ok so you're ju-
you're not sure now what you're suppose to do is that it?
S: y-
O: or you're not sure of
your classes?
S: Yeah I didn't know registration means so
O: OH registration just meant to fill out
an application and pay tuition and ....
S: when I pay tuition
O: Okay, as soon as possible
S: Where? ((laugh))
O: here=
S: okay
O: =everything is here=
S: okay
O: =and whenever you have any questions come here I'll try to help you
S: uhh...
O: oh that's ok
S: I can't.... Can I check ((unintelligible))..I'm not sure ((laugh))
O: So you're not sure of your classes, or what, ok, did you register
for second half starting today or second half
S: yes second half...somebody made a mistake
so I start second half but they send me mail in the letter full time
O:Ok so lets just check I ok, What is your family name?
S: J_
O: J-- ((spells))..((checks in the computer))..., and is it umm..wait lets try it
again and your first name
S: Y-- K-- ((spells))
((Administrator interrupts))
O: okay, and this is your mailing address=
S: yes
O:=and we have you full time and you are second half, right?
S: yeah
O: and so you are second half fall term full time
S: yes full time
O: okay second half and so... your bill will be different then. di- did
you? umm Your bill is $950
S: $950?
O: right, ok
S: Can I pay now?
O: Sure, that would be wonderful okay
((Administrator interrupts))
S: do check?
O: uhuh. Do you need a pen?
S: N-no. I don't have know who
O: Oh D- University
S: oh
O: I can put it there..((fills out check)). okay let me give you a receipt ((long
pause)) okay, you're all set....okay.
S: umm.. somebody called me,hmm she need some letters. like things like
bank state ment or

56 O: Oh. Let me see.. um well... what kind of visa do you have?
58. S: B-2
59 O: B-2. do you want to change to a=
60. S: yes
61. O: =you want to change to an F-1. Did you give us
62 a bank statement and..
63 S: I, I gave someone, but she she told me she didn't need it
64 O: was it in this office?
65 S: Yes, I think it's you
66 O: Okay...and...what did I say?
67 S: you, you didn't need it...a bank statement
68 O: if you...
69 S: I have it right now...
70 O: I really... You want to cahnge to F-1, right?
71 S: i don't know
72 O: Do yo- see, you don't need to change to F-1
73 S: I want to change to F-1
74 O: You do. Okay. Then we do need it...(long pause)
75 Okay, now and the bank statement is in you name?
76 S: I...no, my aunt
77 O: No, then you need a letter of support as well
78 S: Letter support you need it?
79 O: If you want to change to an F-1 visa, which you do...then you need the bank
80 statement=
81 S: I-
82: =but then we also need a letter from you autn stating=
83: I-
84: O: =okay you
85: have that
86: i brought-
87: okay, good...okay and so what is
88: My aunt, my aunt sent it
89: O: okay and so I am going to send this up to international services office...and
90 in about one week they will change your B-2 visa to an F-1
91 S: and they will send me-
92: O: right. to...this address
93: S: okay
94 O: okay, allright
95: S: okay, everything finished?
96 O: yep

Targeting morpho-syntax in children's ESL[1]:An empirical study of the use of interactive goal-based tasks

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This study is an investigation of the efficiency of interactive tasks at eliciting targeted morpho-syntactic structures from child speakers of English as a Second Language (ESL). The objectives of the study were to examine whether task-based elicitation procedures were more efficient than interviews at eliciting specific targeted morpho-syntactic structures with children and to ascertain how far tasks designed to target specific morpho-syntactic structures achieved their aims. Results show that the tasks were more efficient than Informal Interviews at eliciting targeted morpho-syntactic structures with child speakers of ESL and that the tasks were successful in targeting the structures for which they were designed.

The study reported here was part of a wider project which was designed to provide data on the acquisition of ESL by children and the use of Rapid Profile to assess children's ESL development.[2] The tasks reported on here form the elicitation procedure for Rapid Profile (Mackey, Pienemann, & Thornton, 1991; Pienemann, 1992; Pienemann & Mackey, 1993). Rapid Profile is a computer-based second language assessment device. It places language learners on a developmental schedule by screening their speech against standard patterns of acquisition of the target language. Rapid Profile assesses the learner's production of morpho-syntactic structures. For Rapid Profile to work efficiently, the structures need to be elicited from the learners in a quick and unobtrusive manner. The tasks were designed for this purpose. This study of the use of tasks to target specific morpho-syntactic structures also represents a contribution to the growing body of work on the use of tasks as research tools.

Many definitions/operationalisations of the term 'task' have been offered. Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993) make the point that tasks are difficult to define adequately because many features can be interpreted broadly by teachers and researchers and almost any activity-generating, goal-oriented experience can be classed as a communicative task, even an interview. They characterize tasks as having two recurrent features (1993:11). The first is that they are oriented towards goals, i.e. that participants need to arrive at an outcome; the second is that they include some sort of work or activity that the participants themselves must carry out. Long and Crookes summarize their previous definitions, considering the dimension that tasks focus on something that is done not something that is said (1992:44). Crookes specifies that tasks can be considered as "a piece of work or an activity, usually with a specified objective, undertaken as a part of an educational course or at work" (1986:1). Long states that "by task is meant the hundred and one things people *do* in everyday life, at work, at play and in between" (1985:89). All these definitional features can be applied to the tasks used in this study. They are goal-oriented interactive activities which are designed to promote conversational interaction between the participants as they carry out the activity.

Developing procedures for the elicitation of data has relevance for the fields of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research and teaching. It may be the case that some researchers and teachers will view morpho-syntactic data elicited through tasks in different ways. Researchers may view the data in terms of its potential for shedding light on interlanguage/SLA processes. Teachers and those who are interested in assessing developmental level in terms of syntax and morphology may see the data as having potential for revealing the student's stage of development. They may evaluate it to determine the learner's progress towards mastery and define what they can usefully be taught next, highlighting any "gaps." This paper will focus on tasks as tools for elicitation rather than teaching. The subject of tasks and syllabus design has been well documented in the literature, especially in response to the communicative competence movement in language teaching. For a review article and further information see Long (1989) and Crookes and Long (1992).

The Effects of Tasks on Interlanguage Production

Why use tasks for eliciting samples of interlanguage instead of naturally occurring data? Apart from the obvious factor of time constraints attached to collecting, transcribing, and analyzing naturalistic data there are other reasons. Previous studies have shown that gaps were present in many samples of naturally occurring data in English (Pienemann & Johnston, 1987; Pienemann, Johnston, & Brindley, 1988). Certain language features do not occur naturally in conversation very often, but are important in determining developmental level. Learners in free conversation and conversational interviews with researchers have shown avoidance strategies, such as dropping topics when structures which cause problems for those learners may need to be used. It is often these troublesome structures which need to be studied for insight into learners' interlanguage. Constantly directing a learner's attention to structures which are not being used in an interview situation may have undesirable consequences. It is obviously preferable that subjects remain as unaware as possible of the structures being studied and that the learner's performance is as naturalistic as possible.

A primary concern of this study was to impose constraints on learners in terms of the range of possible responses they produced. This was accomplished by providing specific contexts for morpho-syntactic structures to occur in a way that was as unobtrusive as possible, through the use of the interactive goal-based tasks. The tasks were designed to impose constraints on the learner which means contexts have to occur. These make it possible to study the interlanguage production rules. This is based on a long tradition of SLA research and data analysis (e.g., Meisel, Clahsen, & Pienemann 1981). If, for example, a learner must state what a person's actions are in order to complete a picture-based task successfully, then they will probably attempt to use either 3SGs or -ing forms. They might produce a 3rd person form without an 's' e.g., she read (-) or with an 'extra' 's/copula', she is reads (>) or with an 's', she reads (+). (All of these forms are of equal interest to the SLA researcher, whereas to many teachers - and > are usually the same as both may be construed as an error which requires correction.) The tasks were designed to provide as many contexts for the structures as possible, regardless of whether the production equals that of the target language, with the intention of counteracting avoidance strategies. The aim of this study was to elicit spoken data which was as natural as possible with as many examples of filled contexts as possible.

Task Design

When designing the tasks a variety of methods which are in current use for eliciting morpho-syntactic structures were reviewed. A comprehensive review of such methods is contained in Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991). These include things such as reading aloud, structured exercises, completions, elicited imitation, guided composition, Q-A stimulus reconstruction, role plays, oral interviews, and free composition. Aspects of some of these methods were included in the design of the tasks, for example guided composition was interpreted as an oral response to pictures (Story Completion task), Q-A stimulus was incorporated to a limited extent in the Informal Interview which was compared with the tasks. Space does not permit a complete review of the advantages and drawbacks of all of these methods of elicitation. While a variety of methods were considered, many were inappropriate because of the lack of opportunity for contexts for targeted structures to occur, the likelihood that models would be provided, or because grammatical rather than pragmatic competence was the focus of this study. The tasks represent a variety of types and were designed to utilize a range of features documented in the research. Features of the task design are listed below.

One/Two way

The tasks include examples of both one and two-way information distribution. Research suggests that more useful *negotiation* work occurs with two way tasks (Long, 1990; Doughty & Pica, 1986). However, concerning the elicitation of *morpho-syntactic structures*, empirical research has not yet shown convincingly which are most effective. An example of a one-way task used in this study is a learner orally retelling a story from pictures by asking questions of a researcher who knows the story (Story Completion task). An example of a two-way task is two learners collaborating to put a set of pictures in order to create a story (Picture Sequencing task).

Closed/Open

Most of the tasks are closed rather than open. This reflects hypotheses that closed tasks may produce larger amounts of data and more useful negotiation work than open tasks (Long, 1990). An example of this is a "Spot the Differences" task where learners are told there are a specific number of differences (Picture Differences task). Open tasks often result in learners treating topics briefly, dropping topics when in linguistic difficulties and incorporating less feedback. One open activity, the Informal Interview, is used in this study as a comparison.

Planned/Unplanned

The tasks are unplanned in order to be as naturalistic as possible, and also to avoid uncertainties created by the extra time involved in carrying out planning. (It should be noted, however, that research shows that planned tasks stretch interlanguages further, e.g., Crookes, 1989).

Cooperative/Competitive

The tasks have learners in dyads working towards the same/convergent goal in a cooperative rather than competitive manner. Learners working individually are not competing with researchers. This allows the tasks to be non-threatening. The tasks chosen were all task types which are in use in various language teaching situations and as such were likely to be tasks learners were familiar with. They appear to be of a non-serious nature and as such have some face validity in that they are in popular use and are entertaining. An additional reason for the choice of tasks as opposed to interviews for the purposes of eliciting targeted morpho-syntactic structures is that they avoid many of the unpleasant characteristics of interviews such as interrogation style questions, learner shyness, and topic control and dominance by the interviewer.

Task Bias

An additional feature considered to be important in the task design was the attempt to avoid sexism/ethnocentric bias. This area of task design is not widely discussed in the research. Many of the tasks in use in the classroom and reviewed for this study were biased in some way. In designing these tasks attempts were made to avoid bias as far as possible, for example to reflect Australia's multicultural society by including people/food/scenes etc. with a variety of origins and to reflect the status of women as active participants without stereotyping. However, more research into this aspect of task design is necessary. Resources did not allow this study to focus on that aspect as much as would have been desirable and it is inevitable that flaws remain in these tasks.

Table 1 provides a summary of the task types, the structures focused on in the results section, the design features used, and the participants involved in the interactive situation.

Table 1: Overview of Tasks

Task	Structure	Features	Participants
1. Picture Recognition	3SG 'S' -ing	One way/closed/ convergent goal/unplanned	Subject & Researcher
2. Story Completion	Wh questions	One way/closed/ convergent goal/unplanned	Subject & Researcher
3. Informal Interview	General	Two way/open/ unplanned	Subject & Researcher
4. Picture Sequencing	Negs Cop Inv Questions	One way/closed/ convergent goal/unplanned	Subject & Subject & Researcher
5. Picture Differences	Negs General Questions	One way/closed/ convergent goal/unplanned	Subject & Subject & Researcher
6. Meet Partner	Questions	One way/open/ convergent goal/unplanned	Subject & Subject & Researcher

Examples are given in Table 2 below–both of tasks which were originally designed and tested with adults and of tasks which were designed specifically for children and tested for the first time in this study. Some tasks were appropriate for both adults and children. For tasks 1, 2, 4, and 5 at least two examples of each task-type were used with each subject. With the other two tasks (3 and 6) one example was used.

Table 2: Descriptions of Redesigned Tasks

Task-type	Examples created for adults	Examples redesigned for children
Picture Recognition	Librarian- series of photographs depicting a day in the life of a librarian. Subjects asked "what would she do every day?" etc.	Supplementary characters used included those which would be familiar to children who have been in Australia for several months or longer e.g., their teacher, their parent/s or cartoon characters
Story Completion	Poisoning: Series of pictures depicting a poisoning and a ransom demand. Subjects instructed to find the story behind the pictures.	Stories depicting scenes such as zoos, picnics and outings and the escapades of animals.
Informal Interview	Researcher and subject speak informally about a number of topics. The researcher is instructed to avoid dominance and topic control where possible.	Topics raised by interviewer for discussion aimed at children e.g., favorite food, names of friends, etc.
Picture Sequencing	Mishaps: A series of pictures depicting a number of mishaps which befall a person on their way home needs to be ordered. Two subjects each have half of the pictures and attempt to put them in order. They cannot see each other's pictures.	Pictures aimed at children, e.g., series of mishaps happens to an animal who needs to relearn a skill it has lost e.g., digging/flying in order to get out of trouble.
Picture Differences	Marriages: Pairs of wedding scenes from different cultures. This is a "spot the differences" task where each pair has a picture which the other person cannot see. They collaboratively try to work out the differences.	Scenes are changed to those which children might come into contact with at school e.g., animal/spaceship pictures.
Meet Partner	Series of topics given to a pair of subjects to enable them to find out information about each other and report it back to the researcher. Topics include issues such as job, menu preferences, etc.	Topics aimed at children include information such as pets owned/wanted, school attended, and favorite TV shows.

Examples of the Targeted Morpho-syntactic Structures

Table 3[3] below provides an explanation and examples of all of the targeted structures in this study. Not all of these structures are analyzed in detail in the results section due to constraints of space, but they all contribute to the total structure counts. Structures analyzed in detail in the results section are specified, together with the tasks designed to target them, in Table 1. It is important to note that many of the examples of the structures can be grammatical or ungrammatical.

Table 3: Examples of the Targeted Morpho-syntactic Structures

Negation	
Neg + SVO	Sentence External Negation. A negator is placed before the sentence or clause. Negator form is irrelevant Example: **No me live here**
Neg + Verb form	Preverbal Negation. A negator is placed before the main verb in a sentence. Negator is irrelevant Example: **She not going home**
Neg Do-2nd	In negated main clauses and wh-questions, a negated form of the verb 'do' is placed in second position Example: **(Why) don't he like fish**
Word Order	
Topicalisation	Objects or Subordinate Clauses are placed in sentence initial position. Example: **Because I love you I can't leave**
Particle-Shift	With certain English compound verbs (e.g.,. switch off) it is possible to split the verb and the preposition Example: **Have you *switched* the light *off***
SVO express	Subject Verb Object is the basic word order for English. Canonical order is used to a range of functions Example: **I like you; No he go home**
Adverb	Adverbs or Adverbials in sentence initial position Example: **Tomorrow I'm going home**
Questions	
SVO Question	Canonical word order used in question formation. Example: **You live here ?**
Do-Fronting	Direct questions with main verbs must have some form of the verb 'do' in initial position Example: **Does you like fishing ?**
Y/N-Inversion	In direct yes/no questions an auxiliary or modal verb is placed in sentence initial position Stage 4 Example: **Have you got my money ?**
Copula Inversion	Wh-questions involving the copula require that the copula and the subject change places. Example: **Who is she?**
Do/Aux-2nd	In English main clauses, the auxiliary and modal verbs are placed in second position in affirmative and wh-questions i.e. they change places with the subject Example: **Why have you left home ?**
Cancel Inv.	In relative clauses wh-question inversions do not apply Example: **I wonder what she's doing ?**
Verb Morphology	
-ed	Regular past tense marking on main verbs Example: **He walked (+) He goed (>) He eat (-)**
-Irr past	Past marking with irregular main verbs Example: **She came (+)**
-ing	Any use of the 'ing' postfix. Example: **She going home**
- 3sg -s	Third person singular 'S' marking Example: **He eats (+) She is eats (>) She eat (-)**

Noun Morphology	
Plural -s	Addition of plural 's' postfix to nouns Example: **dogs (+) breads(>) The three dog (-)**
Poss -s	Possessive 's' marking on nouns Example: **Pat's cat (+) Pat cat (-)**
Pronoun Morphology	
Possessive	Use of possessive pronouns Example: **Their (+) Peter's his (>) they dog (-)**
Object	Use of object pronouns. ...**called her (+) ..John him (>) ..called she (-)**
Adverb	Use of -ly to construct adverbs out of adjectives. Example: **run slowly (+) run fastly (>) run slow (-)**
General	
Single Words	Use of single words to express complex intentions Example: **Central -> "I am going to Central"**
Formulae simply	Learners may use quite complex 'unanalysed' chunks of language which they have memorized Example: **How do you do**
Omission	
Subject	The subject of a sentence is missing Example: **go home**
Verb	The main verb is omitted Example: **she home**
Copula	The copula is omitted Example: **That dog big**
Article	The article is missing from a noun phrase Example **dog is big**

As mentioned earlier, Rapid Profile provided the motivation for why these particular morpho-syntactic structures were targeted. Pienemann, Johnston, and Brindley (1988) provide a full discussion and explanation of the placement of these structures into their proposed developmental schedule in terms of the processing constraints which they claim apply to these structures. For further information about the way Rapid Profile incorporates these structures and the acquisition constraints see Pienemann (1992).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The two main objectives of this study were, firstly, to investigate whether the tasks used were more efficient than the Informal Interviews at eliciting targeted morpho-syntactic structures with children and, secondly, to test whether tasks elicited the structures which they were meant to target when used with children. Related questions were concerned with whether there was a difference between subject and researcher, and subject and subject situations and whether there was a difference between the two groups of subjects.

Specific research questions and hypotheses formulated were:

1. Did the tasks or the interview produce a higher density of total structures?

> Hypothesis 1: The density of total structures in the interview would not be higher than in the tasks.

The interview was targeted at total structures whereas the tasks were targeted at specific structures. However, it was expected that the tasks and the interview would be similar in terms of the total structures they generated.

2. Did each of the tasks produce the structures at which they were targeted?

> Hypothesis 2: 3SGs would be produced in greatest quantities by the Picture Recognition task.
>
> Hypothesis 3: -ing would be produced in greatest quantities by the Picture Differences task.
>
> Hypothesis 4: Question forms would be produced in greatest quantities by the Picture Differences task.
>
> Hypothesis 5: None of the structures targeted by the tasks would be produced in the greatest quantities by the Informal Interview.

The targeted structures which are the focus of this question are the six types of question formations and the 3SGs and -ing morphological forms. Time constraints did not allow for analysis of each of the 28 structures, so these structures were selected as interesting on the basis that they were either high level structures, found to be difficult to both produce and elicit, or because previous studies (Mackey, Pienemann, & Doughty, 1992) had found them to be more difficult to elicit.

3. Was a range of questions produced?

> Hypothesis 6: The Picture Differences task would result in each subject producing at least three different question types from a range of five.

Although other tasks were designed to produce specific question types (for example the Meet Partner task and Copula inversion/yes/no inversion questions) the Picture Difference task was targeted at a wide range of questions.

4. Did the elicitation situation affect the production of structures?

> Hypothesis 7: The researcher and subject situation (ns & nns) would be equally as productive in terms of total structures as the subject and subject (nns & nns) situation.

This question was designed to examine the productivity in terms of total structures of situations which involve nns/nns and ns/nns dyads. All the researchers were native speakers; all the subjects were non-native speakers.

5. Was there a difference in terms of total structures produced between Group 1 and Group 2?

> Hypothesis 8: Group 1, who were subjected to one long conversational interview and no tasks, would produce less total structures than Group 2's task production.

No strong claims can be made on the basis of findings in relation to this question because the situational variables were not controlled for Group 1, however, it is still thought to be an interesting comparison.

Research Design

Biodata

The empirical study carried out for this project involved two groups of children, one group which had various L1 backgrounds and one group which had Spanish L1 backgrounds. The children were all between 7 and 10 years old. They had varying degrees of exposure to English, length of residence in Australia and age of arrival in Australia. Group 1 (7 children, various L1s) were all students at the same public school. Group 2 (6 children, Spanish L1) were all contacted through the Ethnic Schools Centre in Sydney. The data collection situation differed for the two groups of subjects. Data from Group 1 forms only a small part of the study in that it is used as a comparison group for the final research question. Group 2 is the focus of the study. Data from Group 1 was used so that a task/interview comparison across the groups as well as between the groups could be made.

Data Elicitation Situation for Group 1

Data from Group 1 was collected through a "Conversational Interview." Children were encouraged to chat to a researcher who asked them stimulus questions. No visual cues were used. The participants were researcher and subject. The data collection took between 20 and 30 minutes. Subjects were audio taped.

Data Elicitation Situation for Group 2

The task-based elicitation procedure was used with Group 2. Five communicative tasks and one Informal Interview[4] were used to elicit speech. Each task/interview took approximately seven minutes. The total amount of data collected from each child was between 40 and 50 minutes. Data was collected in two situations for each child. Participants were researcher and subject (ns & nns) and subject and subject (nns & nns). At least two examples of each task type were used in all cases (see Table 4). Researchers were members of the Rapid Profile project team at the Language Acquisition Research Centre (LARC), University of Sydney. They were given written instructions for administering the tasks and were directed to avoid producing models wherever possible. Variables such as task ordering and gender and age of researcher and subject were controlled. Data was audio taped and stored on Digital Audio Tape (DAT). All subjects in Group 2 were at a similar developmental level.[5] This choice of a group of learners who are all at a similar level was made to remove variation which might be caused by differences in developmental level. However, future studies need to be carried out with learners representing a range of levels. This would increase the generalisability of the results.

Table 4: An Overview of the Data Elicitation Situations

Group 1 Mixed L1s 20-30 mins	Group 2 Spanish L1 40-50 mins
Situation: Researcher & Subject (ns & nns)	Situation A: Researcher & subject (ns & nns)
Conversational Interview	1. Picture Recognition task 2. Story Completion task 2. Informal Interview.
	Situation B: Subject & subject (nns & nns)
	1. Picture Sequencing task 2. Picture Differences task 2. Meet Partner task

Transcription and Coding of Data

Transcriptions were made using audio tapes and memoscribers. Transcription was carried out by four people including the researcher and all transcripts were randomly checked by the researcher. Transcription conventions developed at LARC were used. These transcription conventions allow transcribers to mark things such as backchannel ("mmm") and pauses in a consistent manner and allow for easier reference to the transcript. The transcriptions are orthographic representations of the data.

All data was coded in a software program (Thornton, 1991) for the purpose of coding Rapid Profile data, known as Rapid Edit. Coding was carried out by three people including the researcher and was all checked by at least one other person. Inter-rater reliability tests show coding reliability at approximately 95% ($p>0.05$). Coding took approximately 4 hours for an analysis of a 30 minute transcript. For the total data set of approximately 7 hours coding took approximately 57 hours.

Measures of Data

The data used for the analysis includes an examination of all data for all tasks and an individual analysis of three specific tasks for questions 2 and 3. These tasks are: Picture Recognition, Picture Differences, and Informal Interview. The Informal Interview is referred to as a task for the purpose of the comparison in the analysis. The structures which form the focus of this study are outlined in Table 3.

Six tasks were described and used. The results section focuses on data from three of those tasks to address questions 2 and 3 and data from the remaining three tasks for the comparisons and total structure counts in questions 1, 4, and 5. Both situations, i.e. subject and researcher (ns & nns) and subject and subject (nns & nns), are represented in the three tasks used to answer questions 2 and 3. The Picture Recognition Task and the Informal Interview represent the first situation and the Picture Differences task represents the second situation.

Contexts and tokens of the data are both counted. This method follows a tradition of Interlanguage analysis based on Meisel, Clahsen, and Pienemann, 1981. For more details of why they are both considered important see Pienemann and Mackey, 1993. Positive (+), negative (-) and oversupplied (>) cases are counted; for example, "she go (-), she goes (+), and she is goes (>)" are all counted as examples of the structure, in this case 3SGs, or contexts for its occurrence.

Statistics

The Friedman non-parametric two way analysis of variance was used as the data did not meet all the assumptions required for standard ANOVA due to the small sample of subjects and tasks used. Because of the small numbers, exact probability values have been given.

Results

1. Did the tasks or the interview produce a higher density of total structures?

> Hypothesis 1: The density of total structures in the interview would not be higher than in the tasks.
>
> *Hypothesis 1 was confirmed.* There are no significant differences between the interview and the tasks in terms of the density of total structures counts (x=1.33, p=0.57, k=3, n=6).

The tasks are no less efficient at generating total structures than the interview, despite the fact that the interview was targeted at total structures and the tasks were not. It is necessary to consider the total structures in relation to t-units. T-units are defined as a clause containing a tensed verb and any attached dependent clauses. Although each of the tasks were performed in roughly similar amounts of time (an average of seven minutes), t-units are a more effective measure of usefulness of data as it is possible that a task could take twice the average time but generate very little talk by the child. A t-unit is a way of checking that there are meaningful utterances in the speech. The measure is t-units rather than turns at talk in order to exclude minimal turns such as "mmm" and "yes." The t-unit measure represents density of structures in the data. For example if a child produces 5 structures in 5 t-units (or 5 minutes) this is a much richer (and more efficient) data set than if the same child produces 5 structures in 50 t-units (or 15 minutes). The most t-units were produced by the interview. This means that although slightly more structures occur in the interview, more t-units are necessary for these structures to occur. Where large numbers of t-units occur, there are obviously more opportunities for structures to occur. All figures were measured as raw scores in relation to t-units. Statistical tests were carried out on both sets of figures with no qualitative difference between them.

2. Did each of the tasks produce the structures at which they were targeted?

> Hypothesis 2: 3SGs would be produced in greatest quantities by the Picture Recognition task.

Hypothesis 2 was confirmed.

Friedman's two-way analysis of variance confirmed that the difference in tokens between the tasks was highly significant ($x=10.33$, $p=0.0017$, $k=3$, $n=6$). A post-hoc Least Significance Difference measure showed that Picture Recognition produced significantly more 3SGs than either of the other situations ($p=0.05$). Table 7 shows that 3SGs or its contexts appeared in greatest quantities in the Picture Recognition task which was designed to elicit 3SGs. This trend appears for all subjects and is reflected in the overall total. 3SGs is a late acquired structure in terms of development and is often difficult both to produce and observe. Therefore, it is noteworthy that this task was successful. To summarize, therefore, this table indicates that the Picture Recognition task is highly successful at eliciting 3SGS, the structure which it was designed to target.

Table 5: Total Structure Counts

Subject ID	Picture Recognition	Informal Interview	Picture Differences	Totals (for all 3 situations)
3.1	62	102	96	260
3.2	168	146	157	471
3.3	98	273	86	457
3.4	169	148	120	437
3.5	85	36	60	181
3.6	195	178	98	381
Totals	777	883	617	2,187

Table 6a: Total T-units

Subject ID	Picture Recognition	Informal Interview	Picture Differences	Totals (for all 3 situations)
3.1	28	43	42	113
3.2	48	60	51	159
3.3	31	133	33	197
3.4	63	52	45	160
3.5	30	19	20	69
3.6	37	114	32	183
Total t-units	237	421	223	881

Table 6b: Average Structures per T-unit

Subject ID	Picture Recognition	Informal Interview	Picture Differences
3.1	0.45	0.42	0.43
3.2	0.28	0.41	0.32
3.3	0.31	0.48	0.38
3.4	0.37	0.35	0.37
3.5	0.35	0.52	0.33
3.6	0.18	0.64	0.32
Total t-units	0.34	0.47	0.36

Table 7: Tokens of 3SGs or Contexts for its Occurrence

Subject ID	Picture Recognition	Informal Interview	Picture Differences	Totals (for all 3 situations)
3.1	8	6	5	19
3.2	25	8	3	36
3.3	16	13	5	34
3.4	16	7	0	23
3.5	13	0	2	15
3.6	21	12	0	33
Totals (all subjects)	99	46	15	160

Hypothesis 3: -ing would be produced in greatest quantities by the Picture Differences task.

Hypothesis 3 was disconfirmed.

As can be seen in Table 8, there was no significant difference between the task targeted at -ing, the Picture Differences task and the Informal Interview or the other task. The Friedman test showed x=2.33, p=0.430, k=3, n=6.

Table 8: Tokens of -ing or Contexts for its Occurrence

Subject ID	Picture Recognition	Informal Interview	Picture Differences	Totals (for all 3 situations)
3.1	14	0	6	20
3.2	7	5	14	26
3.3	7	15	1	26
3.4	4	0	5	9
3.5	10	0	2	12
3.6	3	11	12	26
Totals	45	31	40	119

Hypothesis 4: Question forms would be produced in greatest quantities by the Picture Differences task.

Hypothesis 4 was confirmed.

Friedman's two-way Analysis of Variance for this question showed that there was a significant difference in the number of question forms between the tasks (x=9.33, p=0.0055, k=3, n=6). Post hoc analysis indicated that the Picture Differences task produced significantly more questions than the other two tasks (p=0.05). The Picture Differences task is dramatically more efficient than the Picture Recognition task and the Informal Interview at eliciting questions. A large number of different question types were observed in the data. For the purposes of this part of the analysis it is sufficient to say that whereas previous studies (Mackey, Pienemann, & Doughty 1992) had noted that questions were difficult to elicit, that finding was not reflected in this data. This may be a functor of age (children may be more likely than adults to ask questions) or task-type. Further study is needed to assess the effect of these variables.

Table 9: Tokens of Questions or Contexts for their Occurrence

Subject ID	Picture Recognition	Informal Interview	Picture Differences	Totals (for all 3 situations)
3.1	1	0	20	21
3.2	1	0	44	45
3.3	3	3	18	24
3.4	0	3	33	36
3.5	0	0	19	19
3.6	3	3	23	26
Total (all subjects)	8	9	157	171

Hypothesis 5: None of the structures targeted by the tasks would be produced in the greater quantities by the interview than the tasks.

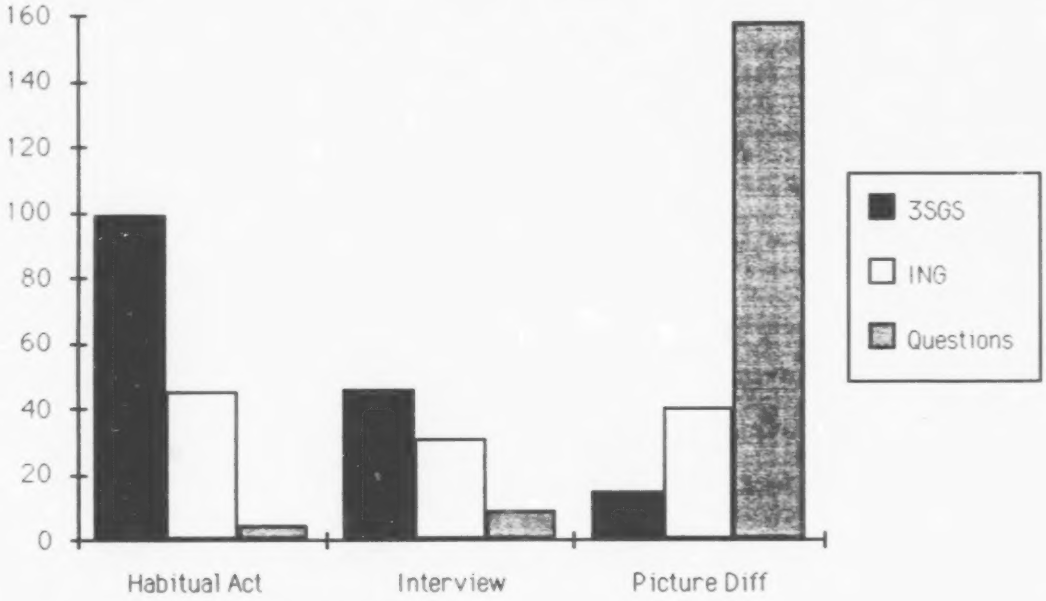
Hypothesis 5 can be confirmed by reference to the results for testing of hypotheses 2, 3, and 4.

Concerning the differences between the individual tasks and the interview in terms of the structures which they produce, it is clear that the tasks produce the structures for which they were designed in greater quantities than the interview. We can conclude from the previous three hypotheses that in no case did the interview produce more targeted structures than the tasks which were designed to elicit these structures.[6] The tasks are significantly more efficient at eliciting the structures for which they were designed than the Informal Interview. Table 10 and the Bar Graph (Figure 1) serve to illustrate this point.

Table 10: Total Tokens of 3SGS, -ing, Questions,and all Structures

Structure	Picture Recognition (3SGS)	Informal Interview	Picture Differences (questions)	Totals for the 3 situations
3SGS	99	46	15	160
-ing	45	31	40	116
Questions	5	9	157	171
Total all structures	149	86	212	447

Figure 1: Totals of 3SGS, -ing, and Questions for the two tasks and Informal Interview.



3. Was a range of questions produced?

> Underlined: Hypothesis 6: The Picture Differences task would result in each subject producing a range of different question types.

Hypothesis 6 was confirmed.

Table 11 shows that the Picture Differences task is efficient at eliciting a wide range of questions and that it is most efficient at eliciting Y/N Inversion and Copula Inversion.

4. Was there a difference in the elicitation situation?

> Hypothesis 7: The researcher and subject (ns & nns) situation would be equally as productive in terms of total structures as the subject and subject (nns & nns) situation.

Hypothesis 7 was confirmed.

Table 11: Types of questions elicited by the Picture Differences Task

Subject Id	SVO	Do-fronting	Y/N Inversion	Copula Inversion	Do/Aux 2nd
3.1	3	3	12	1	1
3.2	1	1	16	25	1
3.3	1	7	8	0	2
3.4	0	2	21	9	1
3.5	0	8	3	3	5
3.6	0	4	18	1	0
Totals for all subjects	5	25	78	39	10

Figure 2 : An Illustration of the Types of Questions Generated by the Picture Differences Task

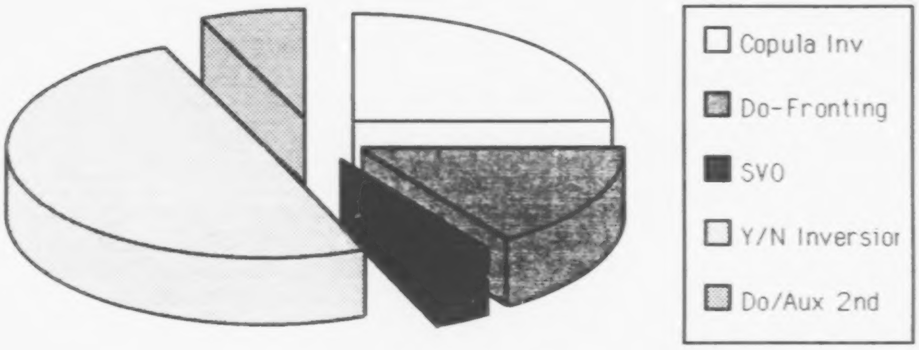


Table 12 shows the totals of all structures for all tasks, both for the ones focused on here and the ones not discussed in detail. The Picture Recognition and the Informal Interview from Situation A and the Picture Differences task from Situation B were the focus of this study. As can be seen from the figures, total structure counts for the two situations are in a similar range. It seems that the situation with researcher and subject (ns & nns) is slightly more productive than the situation with subject and subject (nns & nns) but the numbers are not significant.

5. Was there a difference in terms of total structures produced between Group 1 and Group 2?

Hypothesis 8: Group 1, who were subjected to one long Conversational Interview and no tasks, would produce less total structures than Group 2.

Hypothesis 8 is tentatively confirmed with the following qualifications :

Table 12: Comparison Between Researcher and Subject (ns & nns) and Subject and Subject (nns & nns) Situations

Subject ID	A: Total of all structures for researcher and subject: Picture Recognition, Story Completion and Informal Interview	B: Total of all structures for subject and subject: Meet Partner, Picture sequencing and Picture Differences	Total of all structures for all 5 tasks + Interview
3.1	260	255	515
3.2	471	291	762
3.3	437	243	680
3.4	437	305	742
3.5	181	112	293
3.6	381	267	648
Totals of all subjects	2,167	1,473	3,640

It is apparent from Table 13 that total structure counts are much greater for Group 2 than for Group 1. However, caution needs to be taken when analyzing the results which confirm Hypothesis 8. This study focused on Group 2 for testing the Informal Interview and the tasks. No strong claims are made about this difference between the two groups as it must be seen in relation to the fact that the data elicitation situations were different and that data elicitation for Group 2 took, on average, seven minutes longer than for Group 1. However, even when taking this into account by using t-units as a measure of amount of data and creating a ratio of tokens per t-unit, it is still the case that Group 1 produces less total structures in relation to t-units than Group 2.

Table 13: A Comparison Between Total Structure Counts for Groups 1 & 2

Subjects	Group 1	Group 2
1	379	515
2	211	762
3	466	680
4	271	742
5	215	293
6	240	648
7	220	only 6 subjects*
totals	2,002 - 286* = 1,716	3, 640

There were only six subjects for Group 2; the extra score for Group 1 was removed through averaging.

Discussion

Targeted Structures

The results show that the tasks were successful at targeting the morpho-syntactic structures for which they were designed in the interlanguage production of Spanish L1 children.

The tasks were more successful than the interview at producing targeted structures with the exception of the -ing structure. The -ing structure is relatively easy to observe, it was found to occur with all of the tasks and the interview in a similar range of quantities. Therefore, it can be concluded that it is probably not necessary to design a task specifically to target this structure as it occurs frequently in response to a variety of tasks and in interviews.

The large amounts and wide range of questions elicited with the Picture Differences task was considered to be an interesting finding given that previous studies (e.g., Pienemann, Johnston, & Brindley, 1988) had shown a lack of data on question structures. Future research could address whether this finding was a functor of age by testing the Picture Differences task again with adults.

Third person singular "s" (3SGs) was produced in large quantities by the Picture Recognition task. This structure often proves problematic to target through suitable contexts. The instructions for carrying out the tasks may be important when targeting this structure. One of the subjects produced less structures when compared with the other subjects on the Picture Recognition task, but produced regular tokens of 3SGs in response to the other tasks. On closer examination of the data, it was discovered that the instructions provided by the researcher in relation to this task with this subject were limited to only one of the three models of instructions supplied to all other subjects. The relative lack of direction received by this subject may therefore have been a contributory factor due to the production of fewer tokens. Again, this could be the subject of future study.

Total Structures

Although the interview was designed to elicit large quantities of the total range of structures it was not found to be significantly better at this than the tasks. The total structures produced by both tasks and interviews were in a similar range, no significant differences between them were found. This is an important finding because it was considered that, while the interview would not be more successful at producing the targeted structures, it might be more successful at targeting large quantities of total structures. In fact, it seems that the tasks are equally efficient at doing this. Therefore, it appears that it may be possible to use tasks to elicit a wide range of general structures as well as to target particular structures. When targeting morpho-syntactic structures, it may not be necessary to use Informal Interviews at all. However, future studies would need to analyze the components of the total structure count before this use of tasks could be advocated. Also, the tasks were not found to be significantly better at eliciting total structure counts–just equally as productive as the interview–so it may be pragmatic to retain both methods if time is not a constraint. Future studies could design and test tasks which target a very wide range of structures.

Situation

The finding that researcher and subject (ns & nns) and subject and subject (nns & nns) situations did not show significant differences has relevance for a number of reasons. When using tasks, learners usually work together in pairs or small groups. It seems that where structure-targeted tasks like these are used, learners have as many opportunities for producing targeted structures or contexts in situations with native speakers (or teachers/researchers) as they do with non-native speakers (other learners). Often, where structures are concerned, teachers and learners seem to feel that the native speaker and non-native speaker pair is the optimal situation for opportunities for practice. In this study, the findings suggest that either situation is appropriate. It should be noted that tokens were counted whether there was suppliance, non-suppliance or over-suppliance, and it is possible that more analysis of the types of tokens of data would be interesting.

Conclusion

The aims of this study were to examine whether task-based elicitation procedures were more efficient than interviews at eliciting targeted morpho-syntactic structures and whether tasks designed to target specific morpho-syntactic structures achieved their aims. The data indicates that tasks are more efficient than interviews at eliciting targeted morpho-syntactic structures with child speakers of ESL and that the tasks were successful in targeting the structures for which they were designed. At this point, it would be desirable to carry out replication studies both with adults and with children at different developmental levels. This would increase the generalisability of the results.

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[1] This study was carried out in 1992-93. It is important to note that an earlier project first examined the use of tasks to target morpho-syntax in adult ESL. The researchers in this earlier project were Manfred Pienemann, Catherine Doughty, and myself. Although conference presentations resulted from the earlier study, no publication has yet arisen from it. Both this study and the previous study address similar basic issues, such as whether tasks target specific structures and whether tasks are more/less efficient than interviews. The study reported on here uses a smaller group of subjects and uses children rather than adults. It also addresses some different issues from the first study e.g., elicitation situation, etc. while issues such as age/gender of facilitator addressed by the first study are not considered here.

I gratefully acknowledge the contribution of Manfred Pienemann to this paper. He provided the inspiration for this study which developed from my involvement in the first study. Also, as Director of the Language Acquisition Research Centre, University of Sydney, he allowed me to continue to work with tasks on the NLLIA/LARC Child ESL project. A report resulted from that project: Pienemann, M. & A. Mackey (1993). *An Empirical Study of Children's ESL Development and Rapid Profile*. In P. McKay, (Ed.), *ESL Development: Language and Literacy in Schools. Commonwealth of Australia and NLLIA* 2:115-259. A much shorter and simplified version of this study of tasks is contained within one chapter of that report. I would also like to gratefully acknowledge the fact that this study was partly funded by a grant from the Department of Education Employment and Training (DEET) to the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA) for a National Project entitled ESL Development: Languages and Literacy in Schools.

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[2] Pienemann, M. & Mackey, A. (1993).

[3] The developmental sequences which provide the basis for Rapid Profile and the morpho-syntactic structures targeted in this study are those resulting from a long tradition of work by Manfred Pienemann and his associates (eg Pienemann & Johnston, 1987; Pienemann, Johnston, & Brindley, 1988). This table provides an explanation and some examples of the stages in their work. Ian Thornton (unpublished) devised many of the explanations and examples.

[4] The informal interview was actually structured in the sense that "topic guides" were given. During analysis, each subtopic was analysed separately as well as each interview as a whole. No significant differences were found.

[5] They were all rated at stage 5 in terms of Rapid Profile. Stage 5 has been compared with an upper intermediate or lower advanced level in terms of proficiency scales. For further information on proficiency scaling and developmental levels (see Pienemann & Mackey, 1993).

[6] Only for -ing were the figures not significant.

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Ethnic pride and the classroom: An ethnographic study of classroom behavior–norms and themes

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> Observed behavior is now recognized as a manifestation of a deeper set of codes and rules, and the task of ethnography is seen as the discovery and explication of the rules for contextually appropriate behavior in a community or group; in other words, culture is what the individual needs to know to be a functional member of the community. (Saville-Troike, 1989:7)

As Saville-Troike points out, one of the goals of an ethnographic study is to understand rules for appropriate behavior, and thereby gain an understanding of culture. `Ethnography of schooling'[1] is particularly interesting because many of the rules for appropriate behavior are given to the children in the form of classroom rules or commands by the teacher. Delineating the rules that exist offers information about the behavior that a given school community feels a child must master. Because schools have taken on the function of socializing children into our culture, they are also targeted for creating social change (Wallerstein, 1983; Freire, 1990).

The purpose of this ethnographic study is to understand the norms and rules of behavior in a given classroom in combination with course content, and thereby to shed light on the social change that the teacher hopes to induce (Saville-Troike, 1989:8). Mehan states, "The language of the classroom is a cultural code, the mastery of which is important for school success and, by implication, for status attainment" (1984:179).

When students do not master this code, however, they perform poorly in school. This limits their life chances for success. Ethnographies of schooling have explained why this happens by showing that there is often a mismatch between the 'cultural code' at school and the ways students are socialized at home, particularly among children from minority groups (Phillips, 1972; Heath, 1983). The usefulness of these findings is that they offer an alternative perspective on educating minority children: the researchers propose teaching methods which are more inclusive of other cultural views. There is always considerable distance between theory and practice, and ethnographic research offers an approach to bridging that gap by learning what happens in practice; this knowledge is then potentially applicable to future theory.

Setting

The focus of this study is a classroom in a public middle school located in South Philadelphia. The houses immediately surrounding the school are row houses, many in Philadelphia's traditional 3-story style. Many of them are abandoned, averaging one or two per block. Two blocks to the east of the school there is a large high-rise public housing project, where a significant portion of the students live. The majority of the remaining students live in nearby row houses. The area is predominantly residential, although there is a large supermarket just across the street from the school, and a few convenience stores and small businesses in the area. The immediate community is predominantly African-American, and of a lower to middle socioeconomic class.[2]

The school spans one square block, and, despite overcrowding typical of many other inner-city public schools, comfortably holds its students. Inside, the front hallway is immaculately clean and very quiet, and has shiny marble floors and high ceilings. There is a security guard (not a police officer) to meet visitors at the door; there are no metal detectors. The school is equipped with a large, traditional public school auditorium, gym and recreation facilities, lunchroom, library, and home economics rooms.

This study took place in a classroom located in a quiet corner of the second floor. The room is spacious enough to hold its 26 seventh-grade students, who sit in clusters of 4 to 5 desks. The class is multicultural: the ethnic composition of the students is 56% African-American, 33% Asian and Hispanic,[3] 11% Caucasian, and the teacher is an African-American woman.

Method

For the purposes of this study, two seventh-grade classes, both taught by the same teacher, were observed for a total of nine hours. Because the teacher teaches both English and Science classes to the same students, both subjects were observed. Research methodology entailed observing regular classes while in session. No observations were done on days when the teacher was absent or when students were being tested. The researcher acted as a participant-observer (although "observing" more than "participating"). Children asked me for assistance when they were working independently, so it appears that they thought I was a teaching assistant. Observations were analyzed based on written notes and transcripts of tape-recorded classes. Additionally, two informal interviews with the teacher were conducted.

Ethnic Pride

The multicultural population of the class is of particular significance because the teacher has made a major theme of the class "Ethnic Pride".[4] By doing so, she acknowledges that differences exist between her students; she incorporates these differences into the curriculum of her classes. This seems to be in direct contradiction to the traditional role of schooling, which has been to assimilate children into mainstream culture. This point is clarified in a recent *New York Times* column by Albert Shanker, President of the American Federation of Teachers:

> there is a belief that a majority minority population will demand radical changes in our society. This depends on whether immigrant groups continue to consider themselves as set apart from the mainstream or start seeing themselves as Americans (1993:E7).

Shanker's comments place a separate minority group identity in opposition to his definition of "American." By encouraging her students to develop and strengthen their sense of ethnic identity, however, it appears that this teacher's conception of America is different: to her, pride in one's own ethnic identity is compatible with being American. This is innovative ideology, particularly f Albert Shanker represents the viewpoint held by most educators. One could assert that hers is also an approach to creating social change in which the 'melting pot' conception of assimilation is replaced by an emphasis on separate ethnic identification.

The theme of ethnic pride manifests itself in observable classroom norms and rules of behavior, as well as in course content. Examples of such norms include participation structures, which pertain to "rights and obligations for participation" (Cazden, 1986:434), and norms that specify which linguistic forms are appropriate given the context. These norms are enforced by the teacher through classroom rules she has created. Additionally, the following description attempts to account for behavior the teacher allows in her class, and how it relates to her theme of ethnic pride.

Rules of Participation

Turn-Taking

A component of the ethnic pride theme is the importance of *respect*. The rule is that people must respect one another in the classroom, which affects how members of the class speak to one another and when an individual may speak. For example, a student may not interrupt someone else who is speaking. One day in English class, the students recited poems they had memorized. While a given student recited, the other students were required to listen silently. This rule was clarified after a student's poem was interrupted by the laughter of his peers because he mispronounced a word. The teacher reiterated the importance of being "supportive and respectful" of one another in class, particularly when taking on the task of oral recitation.

Another example of what happens when turn-taking rules are violated occurred during a Science class in which students were doing independent group work. While a boy (S1) in one group was reading aloud, another boy (S2) demanded that he be given the book. However, S1 was the designated reader, and had the right to read. The reader said, "Hey, you're not respectin' me, man." This example shows that the students have absorbed the teacher's language and made it their own.

In writing about classroom discourse, Cazden notes a study which shows that speaking out of turn ("chiming in") is acceptable "only during the instructional climax of the lesson at school" (1986:439). This is not the case in this classroom. Rather, during instructional class time the teacher asked questions and students were permitted to call out the answers without being called on to speak. Some students chose to raise their hands, but not doing so was also permissible. This did not take place during the 'instructional climax' of the lesson, but when the teacher was asking questions for which she already knew the response. However, students were not allowed to chime in if they were interrupting; that would break the turn-taking rule delineated above and be considered disrespectful. In this way, the discussion is limited to one speaker at a time and order is maintained.

Register

One linguistic expression of respect is the use of a formal or polite register when conversing. This is also a rule that the teacher enforces in her classroom. The following transcript involves the teacher (T) and three students (S1, S2, and S3):

S2: [to S3] Shut up!
T: What's the problem?
S3: [points first to S2, then to S1] She tryin' she talkin' every time [S1] tryin' to read...
T: Alright, stop. You don't do that. You're not listening. That's why you're telling him to shut up? He's telling you to stop talking? What would have been a better way to have handled this?
S1: They could have been listening to me read.
T: Alright. If she's the reader then you keep on listening to her...that's number one. And then number two, we don't tell people to shut up. Be quiet. We ask them to be quiet. (4/13/93)

This interchange shows that the use of the informal command, "Shut up," is considered impolite. By telling students instead to use the more formal command, "Be quiet," the teacher is communicating that students speaking about academic matters in her classroom must remain in a polite register, even when speaking with peers. Using polite language indicates that the speaker respects the interlocutor, which is required in this classroom. Using polite language in school also teaches students that choosing a register is related to appropriateness, and informal language is not appropriate in every situation.

Topic Initiation and Control

In addition to permitting chiming in, the teacher is also flexible in lesson topics. One day during a Science class on ecosystems, a discussion on the environment caused the topic to shift to how to improve the school environment. Most of the students offered suggestions, and it was eventually decided that the class should write down their ideas in letters to Constance Clayton, the head of the Philadelphia Schools.

The teacher also offers her students choices at times when she could simply dictate decisions to the class. For example, when the students were assigned to memorize poems, they were allowed to choose their poem from several options. In this way, the teacher controlled the overall course content (because she chose all of the possible poems), yet left room for some student control. Another such example was in Science class when the students, who were to work in groups on projects, were allowed to choose the people with whom they wanted to work.

The teacher describes her rationale for giving her students these choices when she chides them for spending too much time dividing into groups:

> It's important in life to be able to have choices. And you have to learn how to deal with having choices when you're young, so that when you become an adult, you can make some wise choices when you have to make them. Don't ruin your opportunity to have choice (4/13/93).

In this speech, the teacher uses this example to express the value of choice and stress that it must be appreciated. Her words can be taken to indicate that opportunity derives from choice. Moreover, there seems to be an underlying message contrasting choice with oppression: because oppression is often equated with a lack of control and choice, feeling that one has choices is a way to resist feeling oppressed.

The teacher stated in an interview that she also tries to teach her students to be independent of her as much as possible. The motto written on the banner outside her classroom is "Student as worker, Teacher as guide." To teach autonomy, the students often work independently of the teacher in groups. They also must know how to find information on their own, which requires doing research. One time while students were doing group work, a student asked the teacher a question about tundra. Rather than respond, she sent the student and his group to the library to find the answer on their own. This is another way that the teacher shares classroom power and control with her students.

This is potentially empowering to a minority group member who has experienced oppression and prejudice against them. For example, permitting students to chime in gives them more control. The following citation elaborates upon teacher-fronted classrooms: The teacher has the power of control. As the central figure in the class, the teacher transfers, channels, and controls the flow of information. (Harel, 1992:155) By allowing the students to call out responses without the teacher choosing and calling upon a student to speak, she allows her students more control over the `flow of information' than in a standard, teacher-fronted class. This is empowering to students who have been trained in other classes, mainstream settings, or at home to "speak only when spoken to"; they can feel in control of the class discussion.

The significance of creating a classroom situation in which the students are empowered is the possibility that they will take that empowerment with them outside of the classroom. Freire's (1990) method of teaching illiterate people to read in Latin America evoked the following response (Shaull, 1990):

> And as those who have been completely marginalized are so radically transformed, they are no longer willing to be mere objects...; they are more likely to decide to take upon themselves the struggle to change the structures of society which until now have served to oppress them. (15)

In the same way it is possible that, by teaching students ethnic pride and making them powerful in the classroom, they will be less tolerant of marginalization once they leave.

BEV and Ethnic Pride

A particularly interesting classroom norm pertains to the usage of Black English Vernacular (BEV) in the classroom.[5] From observations, it seems that there are certain times when using BEV in the classroom is acceptable and other times when it is unacceptable. The distinction is related to the content of the discussion. When students speak with the teacher about academic matters, using BEV is unacceptable. The following quotations from class serve as examples:

Ex 1

S: I don't got that one.
T: You don't got that one?
S: I don't have that one. (3/24/93)

Ex 2

S: Ain't the ocean blue?
T: Ain't?
S: Uh, isn't the ocean blue? (4/13/93)

In these instances, the teacher corrects her students simply by repeating their words back to them. The students immediately understand how they must correct, presumably because these interchanges are habitual. The teacher, who is African American, predominantly speaks Standard English in the classroom and requires her students to do the same.

Likewise, during the less academically-oriented class when they discussed how to improve the school environment, usage of BEV by students contributing their opinions was not corrected. This seems to indicate that BEV is forbidden from more formal, academic topics, but permitted during casual or personal discussions. It appears there is a connection between BEV usage and informality, Standard English usage and formality.

In an informal interview the teacher stated that she corrects her students' English when they use "slang" speaking directly to her during classtime.[6] However, she told me that she will not usually correct her students' language when they are speaking privately to one another. As the teacher explains, "It's okay to use that language with their friends, but you need to know how to use correct English when going in for a job application or interview." The teacher acknowledged that people hold negative stereotypes of BEV when she said that any applicant who applied for a job using BEV with their potential employer would "find their application in the trash." She also placed a negative value judgment on BEV when she said that her students need to know "correct" English; this implies that BEV is incorrect. This teacher is not alone; Speicher and McMahon (1992) discovered that other African-Americans also hold negative views about BEV or feel it is inappropriate in certain contexts.

By telling students that BEV is appropriate in certain contexts but not in others, the teacher is educating her students to practice codeswitching. Additionally, the contexts in which it should and should not be used are consistent with DeBose's findings (1992) about codeswitching by African-Americans. As DeBose states, "BE [Black English] speakers consider SE [Standard English] the appropriate code for use with outsiders or in *mainstream* settings, and consider BE appropriate for *ingroup* use among African-Americans" (161). In this classroom, SE is the appropriate choice because school is a mainstream setting. It is also appropriate for children to use BEV when speaking amongst themselves. It is worth noting here that use of BEV is not limited to only the African-American students in the class, as students of other ethnicities use BEV grammatical structures such as double negation, and lexical items such as "ain't" or "dag."[7]

There are several possible explanations for why the teacher discourages the use of BEV in formal classroom conversations and how this relates to her classroom theme of ethnic pride. First, there is the fact that Standard English is the language code associated with power in the United States, whereas there are many negative stereotypes associated with BEV. It is possible that she wants to empower her students by teaching them SE so they may be able to access the power structure, and use SE when it is in their "best interest" to do so (Speicher & McMahon, 1992:397). A knowledge of SE is also frequently associated with the African-American middle class (DeBose, 1992:158), so that knowledge of SE seems to some a requirement for attaining social status. The movie "Trading Places" offers an example of the connection between SE and power. The actor Eddie Murphy, a homeless character at the start of the film, suddenly becomes a wealthy businessman. One of the changes in his character is that he develops perfect SE to play the role of a rich, African-American man. Such examples fortify the belief that if African-American children learn SE, it is more likely they will become affluent.

The complaints about the outcome of the case of the Black English trial in Ann Arbor[8] argue against special treatment and acceptance of BEV in school. One part of the resolution was that teachers would learn to distinguish between mistakes in reading and differences in pronunciation due to dialect (Labov, 1982:193-4). Yet this implies teachers should treat speakers of BEV in isolation from speakers of SE. Given the Green Road parents' negative responses to the outcome of the trial, it seems what they wanted was to stop prejudice against their children, not prevent them from learning SE. It is possible that educators today believe parents want their children to know SE, and therefore insist that BEV not be used during formal classtime.

Additionally, there are negative stereotypes associated with BEV speakers. People believe that not using the marked variety helps to eradicate prejudice against its speakers. Saville-Troike elaborates this point: "There are many in US society who feel that language markers help perpetuate inequalities in the social system, and that language can be changed to eliminate the inequality" (1989:36). This helps explain why the teacher focuses special attention on correcting grammatical structures that mark BEV such as "ain't" and "don't got," as mentioned previously.

While there is evidence that teaching SE in school promotes empowerment and therefore ethnic pride, it is also problematic; others would argue that correcting BEV could be damaging to a student's sense of ethnic pride. For example, Saville-Troike states that the language of young African-Americans serves as "a vehicle for identification and solidarity" (1989:86). Telling students that it is inappropriate for them to use their language in mainstream society sends a message that the group with which they identify is also somehow inappropriate or wrong.

Addressing the treatment of nonstandard dialects in school, Burling writes about the burden which teaching only SE places on children whose native dialect diverges from the standard. "Our educational system has persuaded many children to reject their own heritage and to adapt their language to the demands of society, but it is difficult to exaggerate the personal and psychological cost of this adaptation" (Burling, 1973:131). Given that bidialectalism is desirable for African-Americans living and working in both African-American and mainstream society, then it is crucial to acknowledge the importance of the minority language in education. Emphasizing the standard language alone may be psychologically damaging to speakers of nonstandard dialects; the speaker may come to believe that his or her mother tongue is insignificant or embarrassing. While it seems that the teacher corrects her students' use of BEV in class to increase their chances for life success and ultimately their self-esteem, doing so creates a tension. While doing formal work in mainstream settings such as school, the students are pressured by teachers to use SE, and forced to decide between one or the other: BEV or SE.

Course Content and Ethnic Pride

The theme of ethnic pride in this class, and the teacher's desire to develop it in her students, also carries through to course content. For example, a major upcoming project is entitled "Ethnic Pride." The project includes researching one's family tree, writing about a family member who is a hero or mentor to the student, learning about foods typical to the country of ancestry, etc. In the past, the teacher has found that this project brings the children together because they find they have ancestry in common with other students that they did not know about. Another assignment with a similar effect is when the entire class reads a book about a Jewish boy; none of her students are Jewish, so the teacher feels this teaches the children to relate their own experiences to those of children from different backgrounds.

Afrocentrism

Although the students read texts by authors of different ethnicities or races, the primary principle of the English class is the presentation of materials from an "Afrocentric" perspective. In his book on Afrocentric ideology, Asante (1987) writes that the Afrocentric approach seeks to lessen the prevalence of traditional Eurocentric ideology existing in the majority of academic fields as the sole ideology. Asante's argument against Eurocentric thinking in academic disciplines is that it is not universal and that it differs from "the

African view of reality" (1987:4). He defines Afrocentricity as follows: "The crystallization of this critical perspective I have named *Afrocentricity*, which means, literally, placing African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior" (1987:6). In U.S. public schools that are predominantly African-American, Afrocentricity has been a recent trend in modern approaches to school teaching. At the Turner Middle School in West Philadelphia, for example, an Afrocentric curriculum was employed with the hopes that it would help children better relate to their school experience, and therefore foster learning (Green, 1990).

One of the ways that educators have incorporated Afrocentric ideology into the classroom is by using texts written from an Afrocentric perspective. Such texts include revised Social Studies books; for instance, that present information from an Afrocentric view, e.g. through the eyes of a slave in America or with greater focus on African historical figures. Afrocentrism can be carried into all disciplines, including Science and English.

In this teacher's English classes, the syllabus incorporates texts written by African-Americans or Africans which promote an Afrocentric viewpoint. For example, one class was observed in which students recited poetry (Appendix A). Although all four poems were written by African-Americans, only two were distinctly Afrocentric in content: "African Poems" and "My Pa was never a slave" are Afrocentric because the former is about African people and the latter about slavery. The students were assigned one or two poems of their choice and were instructed to memorize them for homework and then recite them in class. The two poems which are Afrocentric in content were the most popular; they were selected for memorization and recitation by 73% of the students.

Perhaps because Afrocentricity was not part of my own school experience, it was remarkable for me to hear these poems being recited. It was even more remarkable to hear the poems being recited by students who are not African-American because I was conscious of the importance of race in the content of the poems, and therefore noticed the racial contrast between the text content and the students. During one class period, the poetry selection for recitation by the non-African-American students was recorded. Of the ten non-African-Americans who recited during that class, nine chose Afrocentric poems. It is difficult to understand fully what caused these children to make the choices they did, and it would be an interesting area for future research. I would argue that they chose these poems because they were the most popular among the other children: of the 19 children in the class who read that day, 14 chose to recite Afrocentric poems. If Afrocentric poems were chosen because Afrocentrism is popular, an additional question is, "Why is it popular?" Does it relate to teacher expectations or politics of ethnicity?

Further, regardless of popularity, an important question relates to how an Afrocentric curriculum affects the students in the class who are not African-American. It seems as though it would affect them in the same way that a uniquely Eurocentric curriculum affects African-Americans; in this situation it is students of non-African descent whose perspective is not represented. Asante recognizes this potential in the following excerpt:

> However, in the sense that Afrocentricity proposes a cultural reconstruction that incorporates the African perspective as a part of an entire human transformation, critical theory suggests a pathway. It does not lead us down the path, because it is trapped in the quicksand of its own ethnocentric view, but its attack on the traditional ideology of empiricism is "right on" (Asante, 1987:5).

In other words, although Asante agrees with the criticism of Eurocentrism, he recognizes that Afrocentrism is equally ethnocentric. Therefore, his Afrocentric model seeks to combine Afrocentric elements with other perspectives. Perhaps this would be the more effective approach for dealing with the diverse needs and special interests of students in a multicultural classroom.

Conclusion

The teacher's ultimate goal is to empower her students and instill in them a sense of ethnic pride, even though her approach in certain examples may be debatable. The teacher has chosen to utilize her multicultural classroom to educate and empower her students, rather than view their diverse demands as a burden. Additionally, her focus on empowerment and ethnic pride is a modern approach to helping minority students in school, which goes beyond a strictly linguistic method. Rather than only targeting the language of her students as the cause of their disadvantage, the teacher carries her ideology into many different facets of learning.

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1 "'Ethnography of schooing'...refers to educational and enculturative processes that are related to schools and intentional schooling, though this concept leave room for studies of playgrounds, play groups, peer groups, patterns of violence in schools, and other aspects of school-related life" (Spindler, 1982:2).

2 Socioeconomic class is defined here by income and educational level.

3 These statistics are based solely on observations, so Asians and Hispanics are in the same group because it was difficult to determine accurately which category a given child fit into.

4 "Ethnic Pride" is the term that the teacher used herself in conversation about her classroom ideology.

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5 Whatley states that BEV is characterized by phonological features (final consonant simplification and deletion), grammatical features (aspectual or invariant BE), and lexical or semantic features (e.g. the use of 'man' as a form of address, words such as 'rap, and 'jive') (1981: 100-102).

6 "Classtime" is the teacher's terminology for time spent doing formal course work, and shall be used hereafter by that definition.

7 In this class, `dag' is an exclamation comparable to `wow.' For example: "Did you read all that? Dag!" or, "Dag! You not bein' nice" (quotations from class).

8 In 1977, when Michigan Legal Services learned that black students, who comprised 13% of the predominantly white student body of King Elementary School, were doing exceptionally poorly in school they, along with the students' parents, brought a federal suit against the King School, Ann Arbor School District, and Michigan Board of Education. The focus of the suit became the fact that the students had "language barriers" which the defendants had not attempted to overcome. The plaintiffs won with the following educational outcomes: 20 hours of inservice training for teachers to learn about the history and characteristics of BEV, methods for identifying speakers of it, ways to distinguish between dialect difference and reading mistakes, and strategies for helping students switch from BEV to standard English (Labov, 1982).

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Appendix A

Andre

by Gwendolyn Brooks

I had a dream last night. I dreamed I had to
pick a mother out.
I had to choose a father too.
At first, I wondered what to do.
There were so many there, it seemed,
short and tall and thin and stout,
But just before I sprang awake, I knew
what parents I would take,
And this surprised and made me glad:
They were the ones I already had!

My People

by Langston Hughes

The night is beautiful,
so the faces of my people.
The stars are beautiful,
so the eyes of my people.
Beautiful, also is the sun,
Beautiful, also, are the souls of my people.

From *African Poems*

by Don L. Lee

We're an African people
hard - softness burning black
the earth's magic color our veins,
an African people are we,
burning blacker softly, softer.

Note: *My People* and *African Poems* were memorized together

My Pa was never a slave

by Harriet Wheatley

Slave?
My pas was never a slave
And those
who thought
they made him a slave,
didn't
understand
the word.
He saw beyond the cotton fields
and
cornfields
that blinded their eyes',
Beyond the valleys, dark with
their sins, the sunrise,
They
could not conceive. This,
Pa knew
This, I know.

Lineage

by Margaret Walker

My grandmothers were strong.
They followed plows and bent to toil,
They moved through fields sowing seed.
They touched earth and grain grew.
They were full of sturdiness and singing.
My grandmothers were strong.

My grandmothers are full of memories
smelling of soap and onions and wet clay
with veins rolling roughly over quick hands.
They have many clean words to say.
My grandmothers were strong,
why am I not as they?